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THE

L I F E

OF

THOMAS STORY,

CAREFULLY ABRIDGED:

IN WHICH THE

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

AND THE MOST INTERESTING

REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS

ARE RETAINED.

By JOHN KENDALL.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY JOSEPH CRUKSHANK.

1805.

THE
L I F E
OF
THOMAS STORY.

THAT which I intend by the following work, is, to record the tender mercies and judgments of the Lord; to relate my own experience of his dealings with me through the course of my life; and to write a faithful journal of my travels and labours in the service of the gospel; which I design for my own review, and likewise for the serious perusal of all those who may incline to inquire into things of this nature.

I have solid evidence to believe, that the Lord in his great mercy and kindness, had an eye upon me for my good, even in my infancy, inclining my heart to seek after him in my tender years: from whence, I may reasonably conclude, arose that early inclination I had to solitude; where I sometimes had religious thoughts, and frequently read in the holy scriptures, which I ever loved, and still do, above all books, as most worthy, and most profitable; especially the New Testament, in which I chiefly delighted.

In this state my mind suffered many flowings and ebbings; and as I grew up towards a young man, I found myself under great disadvantages in matters of religion, as I was then circumstanced; for my father intending me for the study of the law, which being
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esteemed a genteel profession, he first sent me to the fencing school, as a fashionable and manly accomplishment. Here I became a considerable proficient in a short time, and obtained the chief vogue over all my neighbouring cotemporaries in that faculty, by which my mind was greatly drawn out, and too much alienated from those beginnings of solidity which I had once known: and having acquired some skill also in musick, the exercise of that occasioned an acquaintance and society not profitable to religion; though I was hitherto preserved from such things as are generally accounted evils among mankind.

After this I was put to the study of the law, under a counsellor in the country, thereby to be initiated, with a design to be entered afterwards into one of the inns of court, and to make further progress, and finish there: but being much in the country, and the family sober and religious in their way, of the most moderate sort of Presbyterians, I had again the advantage of solitude, and little company, and that innocent; so that my mind returned to its former state, and further search after truth. And though I had, at times, some youthful airs, yet, through secret grace, I was preserved from gross evils, and gained respect from all the family.

During my abode with this counsel, I was several times with him at London, where, by the fear of God, I was preserved from vice and evil company, (which much abounds in that great and populous city) though not without temptations, not otherwise to be resisted than by the secret influence of grace, which supercedes them; though it may not always be apprehended by such as are preserved by it.

And though I was educated in the way of the national church of England, yet I had no aversion to any class professing the Christian name, but occasionally heard several sorts, and yet did not fully approve any sect in all things, as I came to consider them closely.

At

At one time I was at friends meeting on a week-day, at Broughton, in the county of Cumberland, where I applied my mind with as much diligence as I could, to examine what I could discern in their way: but though I observed they were very grave, serious, and solid, in the time of their worship, I could gather but little at that time, either from their manner or doctrine; only I took them to be an honest, innocent, well meaning sect.

Towards the latter end of the year 1687, we came out of the country, and had chambers in the city of Carlisle. I continued in the national way of worship, though by the Divine Grace, my understanding was still more and more cleared; and I was frequently concerned to inquire after the truth of religion. The manner of our worship in the cathedral often put me in mind of the Popish religion and ceremonies, and made me conclude, that the way we were in retained abundance of the old relicks: our prayers, postures, songs, organs, cringing and shows, appearing to be little else than an abridgment of the Popish mass, and the pomp and show attending it. And then I began to be very uneasy with it; and though I went there a little longer, yet I could not comply with several of the ceremonies; which being taken notice of, in a familiar conference with an acquaintance of the same way, I asked a little pleasantly, What is that we worship towards the east? and why towards the altar more than any other place, at the saying of the creed? The person replied, sure you are not so ignorant as you would make yourself seem. The scripture saith, *as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.* And again, *at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth.*

To the first I returned, that our Pagan ancestors were worshippers of the sun, and all the host of hea-

ven; and this looked very like a remain of that; and could not be certainly grounded on that scripture, which I cannot understand to signify any other, than the gradual manifestation of the power and glory of Christ unto the world: but if he should literally come from the east, in an outward sense; which, considering the state of the earth, its revolutions, and relation to the sun and other planets, cannot be in the nature of things (that being west to one place, which is east to another) yet that coming would not excuse our superstition, (if not idolatry) in the mean time, before he so come: though I grant, if he should so come, and we see him, then, and not till then, may we lawfully and reasonably worship towards the place, or imaginary place of his coming.

And as to bowing at the name of Jesus, I understand it to be in the nature of a prediction, that in the fulness of time all powers in heaven and earth shall be subjected and brought under the power of Christ, as the next verse imports, which is explanatory of the former, viz. that every *tongue shall confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father*: agreeing also with what the Lord Jesus himself saith, *All power is given to me in heaven and in earth*. And therefore this bowing towards a cypher of the words Jesus the Saviour painted upon a wall, whilst the heart and spirit of a man is not subjected to the power of his grace, is but a mocking of Christ, a relick of popery, and hath some shew of idolatry in it, from which I thought all Protestants had been thoroughly reformed.

This a little surprized my acquaintance at first, coming from one in whom so little of the work of religion appeared outwardly; but as I remained in the diversions of fencing, dancing, musick, and other recreations of the like sort, little notice was further taken for a while.

After this I happened to be at a christening (as we called it) of a relation's child; on which occasion I found

found my mind agitated in an unusual manner, and a secret aversion to that ceremony, which I perceived was not according to the holy scripture, for we have neither precept nor example there for that manner of practice. And when the priest came to say the prayer, which is a part of the service on that occasion, a great fear and surprize came over my mind, so that I could not pay that regard to it as formerly; for, by way of introduction and foundation to the work, the priest reads part of the tenth chapter of Mark's history of the gospel, where it is related, that the people *brought young children to Christ that he should touch them; that his disciples rebuked those that brought them, but when Jesus saw it he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily, I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.* After this they prayed that God would give his holy spirit to that infant; that she being born again, and made an heir of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ, might continue the servant of God, and attain his promise, &c. And, after some more ceremony, the priest said, we receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign her with the sign of the cross, &c. Then the priest, pretending to the company that the infant is, by that, regenerated and grafted into the body of Christ's church, exhorts them to prayer; the substance whereof was this; they thanked God that it had pleased him to regenerate that infant by his holy spirit, to receive her for his own child by adoption, and to incorporate her into his holy church, &c.

Upon this I note, that the scripture there hath no relation at all to baptism; much less to sprinkling, which is no baptism: for the people brought their children to the Lord Christ, not to be baptized, but that

that he might touch them; and he answered the faith of the people accordingly, he blessed them, and declared their innocence and aptitude for the kingdom of God, without such baptism; and did not baptize them: so that this scripture is inapplicable, and all the consequences drawn from it, in this sense, null and chimerical. But they, first praying that God, in their own invented way, would give his Holy Spirit to that child; and that being taken for granted, as already done by that ceremony and prayer, they then receive the child into the congregation of Christ's flock (as they say) acknowledging that, by baptism, that child is regenerated, and grafted into the body of Christ's church; and accordingly they make their address of thanks to God for doing it.

After this ceremony was over, I privately asked the priest, whether he did believe that that ceremony, for which there is not any foundation in scripture, either for making little children the subjects of baptism, signing them with the sign of the cross, promising and vowing in their names, believing and confessing in their stead, sprinkling them only with water, &c. did really then, or at any time to come, regenerate those children? At which he only smiled, and said, no; but it being an established order in the church, the practice could not be omitted. Why then, said I, you do but mock God, in giving him thanks for that which you do not seriously believe he hath effected. And the sequel of things proves there is no such thing done by those means: for true baptism is justification and sanctification, effected by the Holy Spirit of Christ in the mind; and not by the application of any outward element, or external performance of any person whatsoever, under any qualification.

Nevertheless I continued in the national way of worship, though by the divine grace, my understanding was still more and more cleared.

About

About this time the power of king James the second was at the height, and the face of affairs flattering the Roman interest; they became high in their expectations and assurance; and the Protestants more and more filled with rational apprehensions of impending danger. A solid consideration of the doubtfulness of the issue, put me upon a more inward and close observation of persons and things than ever. And one day, at the assizes at Carlisle, dining at an inn with a mixed company, where happened to be two of our ministers of the church of England, a Popish gentleman moved a debate concerning transubstantiation; pretending to prove, by scripture, that by virtue of certain words which their priests say over a piece of bread, or wafer, there is a substantial conversion of it into the real body of Christ; the very same that was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified at Jerusalem, and now glorified in heaven.

The text of scripture he advanced to support this position, was: *And as they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body.* And his argument was only this, that Christ, being the word of God, and the truth, whatever he said must be positively and literally true; and therefore there is a real change of the bread into the true and real body of Christ: and this being an ordinance of God to his ministers, the same power is annexed to that ordinance; since, at the same time, he commanded them to do the same, saying, This do in remembrance of me.

During this uninterrupted discourse, my zeal was kindled, so that I could scarce contain it; but being young, and diffident of my own abilities, and paying regard and preference to our two ministers present, and expecting their appearance against so great an error, and so opposite to the Protestant religion, I delayed till it became almost unseasonable to engage him.

him. But they minding their plates, and hanging down their heads, with their countenances veiled by their hats; and I seeing no sign of an answer from them to the Papist, I took him up upon the subject thus.

“ Sir, you of the church of Rome take these words literally; but we take the whole form of his speech at that time, on that subject, to be figurative; and that these words, *This is my body*, intended no more than, this bread is a symbol, or figure, or representation, of my body, which shall shortly hereafter be broken for you: for we ought not to divide the sentence or speech of Christ, and take one part literally, and another figuratively. And you may remember that, at the same time, he also took the cup, saying, *This cup is the New Testament, in my blood, which is shed for you*: do you think that that cup, whether of gold, silver, glass; or wood, was the New Testament? or cannot you see, that in this latter part of his speech, there is a double figure? First; *Metonymia, subjecti pro adjuncto*, the thing containing for the thing contained; and, secondly, the wine in the cup exhibited under the word cup, as a figure, or representation of his blood; which was not then actually, or literally shed, or his body broken. And seeing he said, in the present tense, *This is my body which is broken* (not to be broken) *for you*; and *this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is* (not which shall hereafter be) *shed for you*: you must either own that Christ advanced a false proposition, which you will not; or that he spake figuratively in both sentences, which you cannot reasonably avoid. Besides, the words uttered by Christ himself did not work that effect you imagine; for no man can call a thing by any name, denoting its existence, before it is that thing which it is called: (*then taking up a plate*) no man, for instance, can truly and literally say, this is a plate, if it were not
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“a plate before. Then, by a parity of reason and truth, Christ could not say, this bread is my body, if it were ~~his~~ his body before: therefore these words made no alteration; for if it was so before, these words were only declarative of what was before, and not initiatory, or commensive, of a new being, which was not there before: and again, if ever these words had effected a transubstantiation, they would when Christ himself uttered them. Consider then, that as soon as Christ began to speak these words, *This is my body*, the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary; began to cease to be his body, and the bread began to convert into it; and that, as soon as the words were finished, the body born of the Virgin, altogether ceased to be what it was before; and by a new way of a corporeal transmigration, insinuated itself into the bread; which by the same degrees that the body of Christ ceased to be his body, commenced, proceeded, grew, and became his body; or else he had two bodies present with his disciples at the same time; and if they eat his body that evening, what body was that which was crucified the next day? And what blood then shed, if the night before, the disciples had drank the blood of Jesus in a proper and literal sense, and without a figure? And where now is that same cup? if you have lost that, you have, in your own sense, lost the New Testament, and all your share therein.

“Now, Sir, if you can persuade me, and this company, out of our senses and understandings, so as that we may be able to believe against both, that a piece of bread is the body of Christ, and a cup of wine is his blood, then you may bid fair for our conversion, or rather perversion to your religion: but, till you can do that, you cannot reasonably expect we should embrace so great absurdities.”

Upon

Upon this, the Papist said, these were great mysteries, and the subject copious and intricate, and could not, at that time, be fully prosecuted but might be more largely discussed at some other more convenient opportunity. I replied, Then why did you move it? Could you think we would all sit silent to hear you propagate such notions, and make no opposition? And so the matter dropped. But though I had thus opposed him, he shewed more respect to me afterwards than to any other of the company.

I think proper, in this place, to recount some of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me, from my early days. I was not naturally addicted to much vice, or evil, and yet, through the conversation of rude boys at school, I had acquired some things by imitation, tending that way; but as I came to put them in practice, by word or action, I found something in myself, at such times, suddenly surprizing me with a sense of the evil, and making me ashamed when alone; though what I had said or done, was not evil in the common account of such as I conversed with, or among men, in a common acceptation. And though I did not know, or consider, what this reprovewas, yet it had so much influence and power with me, that I was much reformed thereby from those habits, which, in time, might have been foundations for greater evils; or as stocks whereon to have engrafted a worse nature, to the bringing forth of a more plentiful crop of grosser vices. Nevertheless, as I grew up to maturity, I had many flowings and ebbings in my mind; the common temptations among youth being often and strongly presented: and though I was preserved from guilt, as in the sight of men, yet not so before the Lord; who seeth in secret, and, at all times, beholdeth all the thoughts, desires, words, and actions of the children of men, in every age, and throughout the world.

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The lust of the flesh, of the eye, and the pride of life, had their objects presented: the airs of youth were many and potent: strength, activity, and comeliness of person, were not wanting, and had their share. Nor were natural endowments of mind, or competent acquirements afar off; and the glory, advancements and preferments of the world, spread as nets in my view, and the friendship thereof beginning to address me with flattering courtship. I wore a sword, which I well understood, and rode with fire arms also, of which I knew the use; and yet I was not quarrelsome; for though I emulated, I was not envious; but this rule, as a man, I formed to myself, never to offend, or affront any wilfully, or with design; and if, inadvertently, I should happen to disoblige any, rather to acknowledge, than maintain, or vindicate a wrong thing; and rather to take ill behaviour from others by the best handle, than be offended, where no offence was wilfully designed. But then I was determined to resent and punish an affront, or personal injury, when it was done in contempt, or with design: and yet I never met with any, save once; and then I kept to my own maxims with success; yet so as neither to wound, nor be wounded; the good Providence of the Almighty being ever over me, and on my side, as well knowing my meaning in all my conduct.

But in process of time, as these prevalent and potent motions of corruption and sin became stronger in me, so the Lord, in his great goodness and mercy, made manifest to my understanding the nature and end of them; and having a view of them in the true light, and the danger attending them, they became irksome, disagreeable, and exceeding heavy and oppressive to my mind: and then the necessity of that great work of regeneration was deeply impressed upon me; but I had no experience or evidence of it wrought in me hitherto. This apprehension greatly surprized

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me with fear, considering the great uncertainty of the continuance of the natural life; and it began to put a secret stain upon the world, and all its glory, and all that I had to glory in; though I kept these thoughts within my own breast, not knowing of any soul to whom I could seriously and safely divulge them: and indeed none, for a considerable time, discerned my inward concern, by any outward appearance; which I found afterwards had been much to my advantage and safety.

It is admirable by what various steps the Lord is pleased to lead the soul of man out of this world, and the spirit of it, home to himself! and yet I am apt to think, that, in his divine and unlimited wisdom, he does not take the same outward method and steps with every one, but varies the work of his Providence as their states and circumstances may best suit and bear. For, by an accident that befel me, I was further alarmed to consider my ways, the uncertainty of life, my present state, and latter end.

It was this: Intending to go to a country church with an acquaintance, as we were riding gently along, my horse stumbling, fell, and broke his neck, and lay so heavy upon my leg, that I could scarce draw it from under him; yet I received no hurt; but, as we stood by him a little, I had this consideration, that my own life might have been ended by that occasion, and I did not find myself in a condition fit for heaven, having yet no evidence of that necessary qualification of regeneration; which brought great heaviness over my mind, which did not totally depart, till, through the infinite mercy of God, I was favoured with a further knowledge, and a better state.

Hitherto I had known the grace of God in me only as a manifestor of evil, and of sin; a word of reproof, and a law condemning and judging those thoughts, desires, words, passions, affections, acts and omissions, which are seated in the first nature, and rooted in

in the carnal mind : in which the suggestions, temptations and influences of the evil one, work and prevail. By which Divine Grace, I was, in some good degree, enlightened, reformed, and enabled to shun and forbear all words and acts thus known to be evil, and moral righteousness restored in my mind, and thereby brought forth in me. I became then sequestered, weaned, and alienated from all my former acquaintance and company ; their manners and conversation, though not vicious (for such I never liked) became burthensome, tedious, and disagreeable ; for they had not the knowledge of God, nor such a conversation as I wanted. And yet I did not know the Divine Grace in its own nature, as it is in Christ ; not as a word of faith, sanctification, justification, consolation and redemption ; being yet alive in my own nature ; the Son of God not yet revealed in me ; nor I by the power of his holy cross, yet mortified and slain ; being without the knowledge of the essential Truth, and in a state contrary to him, and unreconciled. But the Lord did not leave me there, but in his matchless mercy, followed me still by his holy admonitions, and more and more inclined my mind to an earnest inquiry after himself, and his own essential truth and word ; concerning whom I did not know of any in all the earth could teach me, the world being universally, as I judged by the general ways, and courses of men, of all forms and ranks, altogether ignorant of the Lord, knowing only some historical and traditional hints, concerning him, and of his doctrine and ways ; which having little or no effect or influence on the minds or conversations of men, it seemed but a dead knowledge, or image, and they dead whilst they yet lived, did not really and savingly believe in the true God, and Christ Jesus, of whom they made profession and talked : so that I did not then know that the Lord had any people then in the world, owned, by his presence with them, as his flock and family ; which reminds me of that saying

saying of the Lord, *Nevertheless when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?*

Being truly earnest with God, thirsting unto death for the knowledge of the way of life, he was pleased to hear the voice of my necessity; for I wanted present salvation, and the Lord knew my case could not admit of further delay: And therefore being moved by his own free mercy and goodness, even in the same love in which he sent his Son, the beloved into the world, to seek and save the lost, on the first day of the second month, 1689, in the evening, being alone in my chamber, the Lord brake in upon me unexpectedly; quick as lightning from the heavens, and as a righteous, all powerful, all knowing, and sin-condemning judge; before whom my soul, as in the deepest agony, trembled, was confounded, and amazed, and filled with such awful dread, as no words can reach, or declare.

My mind seemed separated from my body, plunged in utter darkness, and towards the north, or place of the north star. And being in perfect despair of returning any more, eternal condemnation appeared to surround and inclose me on every side, as in the center of the horrible pit; never to see redemption thence, or the face of him in mercy, whom I had sought with all my soul. But, in the midst of this confusion and amazement, where no thought could be formed, or any idea retained, save grim, eternal, death possessing my whole man; a voice was formed and uttered in me, as from the center of boundless darkness: "Thy will, O God, be done; if this be thy act alone, and not my own, I yield my soul to thee." In the conceiving of these words, from the word of life, I quickly found relief: there was all-healing virtue in them; and the effect so swift and powerful, that even in a moment all my fears vanished, as if they had never been, and my mind became calm and still, and simple as a little child; the day of the Lord dawned, and the

the Sun of righteousness arose in me, with divine healing, and restoring virtue in his countenance; and he became the centre of my mind.

In this wonderful operation of the Lord's power, denouncing judgment in tender mercy, and in the hour of my deepest concern and trial, I lost my old self, and came to the beginning of the knowledge of him, the just and the holy one, whom my soul had longed for. I now saw the whole body of sin condemned in my own flesh; not by particular acts, as whilst travelling in the way to a perfect moral state only, but by one stroke and sentence of the great and all-awing Judge of all the world, of the living and of the dead, the whole carnal mind, with all that dwelt therein, was wounded, and death begun; as self-love, pride, evil thoughts, and every evil desire, with the whole corruption of the first state, and natural life. Here I had a taste and view of the agony of the Son of God, and of his death, and state upon the cross, when the weight of the sins of all human kind, were upon him, and when he trode the wine press alone, and none to assist him. Now all my past sins were pardoned and done away; my own willings, runnings, searchings, and strivings, were at an end: and all my carnal reasonings and conceivings about the knowledge of God, and the mysteries of religion, were over; which had long exercised my mind, (being then natural) both day and night, and taken away my desire of food, and natural rest: but now my sorrows ended, and my anxious cares were done away; and this true fear being to me the initiation into wisdom, I now found the true sabbath, a holy, heavenly, divine, and free rest, and most sweet repose. This deep exercise being over, I slept till next morning, and had greater and better refreshment and comfort than I had felt for some weeks past.

The next day I found my mind calm and free from anxiety, in a state like that of a young child. In this

condition I remained till night; and about the same time in the evening, that the visitation before related came upon me, my whole nature and being, both mind and body, was filled with the divine presence, in a manner I had never known before, nor had ever thought that such a thing could be; and of which none can form any idea, but what the holy thing itself doth give. The divine essential truth was now self-evident, there wanted nothing else to prove it. I needed not to reason about him; all reasoning was superseded and immersed by an intuition of that divine and truly wonderful evidence and light, which proceeded from himself alone, leaving no place for doubt, or any question at all. For as the sun in the open firmament of heaven, is not discovered or seen, but by the direct efflux and medium of his own light, and the mind of man determines thereby, at sight, and without any train of reasoning, what he is; even so, and more than so, by the overshadowing influence and divine virtue of the highest, was my soul assured, that it was the Lord.

I saw him in his own light by that blessed and holy medium, which of old he promised to make known to all nations; by that eye which he himself had formed and opened, and also enlightened by the emanations of his own eternal glory.

Thus I was filled with perfect consolation, which none but the word of life can declare or give. It was then, and not till then, I knew that God is love; and that perfect love which casteth out fear. It was then I knew that God is eternal light, and that in him is no darkness at all. I was highly favoured also with a view, and certain demonstration, of the manner of the operation of the Almighty, in assuming human nature, and clothing therewith, his inaccessible divine light and glory, even with an innocent, holy and divine soul and mind, homogeneous to the children of men: and this as with a veil, whereby the Most High hath suited

suited himself, and condescended to the low condition of man, and in whom also man, being refined as the tried gold, and thereby fitted for the holy one, can approach to him, as by a proper medium, and therein abide and dwell with the Lord, and enjoy him for ever.

From henceforth I desired to know nothing but the Lord, and to feed on that bread of life which he himself alone can give, and did not fail to minister daily, and oftener than the morning: and yet of his own free will and goodness, he was pleased to open my understanding, by degrees, into all the needful mysteries of his kingdom, and the truths of his gospel; in the process whereof he exercised my mind in dreams, in visions, in revelations, in prophecies, in divine openings and demonstrations.

Also, by his eternal and divine light, grace, spirit, power, and wisdom; by his word, he taught, instructed, and informed my mind; and by temptations also, and provings, which he suffered Satan to minister; that I might see my own weakness and danger, and prove to the utmost the force and efficacy of that divine love and truth, by which the Lord, in his boundless goodness and mercy, had thus visited my soul.

By all things I saw and heard in his wonderful works of creation; by my own mind and body, and the connection and duration of them, as one, for a time; by their separation, and the distinct existence of each by itself, in very different states and modes, as if they had never been in union, or composed one man; by the different states, ranks, and understandings of the children of men, their superiority, inferiority, offences and aids, the motive of every natural man to act, regarding only himself. By the animals, reptiles, and vegetables of the earth and sea, their ranks and subserviences one to another, and all of them to the children of men.

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By the sun, moon, and stars, the innumerable host of heaven, and infinite worlds, and that boundless space which they move and roll in, without interfering or any way annoying one another, as all depending one upon another, as meet helps, and coadjutors; all connected without a chasm, and all governed by the steady laws, which the Almighty word and fiat that gave them being, and formed them, placed them under, and settled them in. But as the diadem of all, and the only true and certain way, when it pleased the Most High, by the effusion of his own goodness, to reveal in me the Son of his love, even his wisdom and power, by whom he designed and effected all things, then I was taught to fear him; then I was taught to love him; then, O then, and not aright till then, was my soul instructed and informed indeed!

But these secret operations were confined to my own breast, so that no one knew any thing of them; only an alteration was observed in me, but the cause of it was not seen. I put off my usual airs, my jovial actions and address, and laid aside my sword, which I had worn not through design of injury, or fear of any, but as a modish and manly ornament. I burnt also my instruments of musick, and divested myself of the superfluous parts of my apparel, retaining only that which was necessary, or deemed decent. I declined the public worship, not with design to join myself to any other sect; for I was rather apt to conclude, from what I had then observed, that these manifestations were peculiar to me, and that there was not any people I might properly associate with; and also, at that time, I was induced to believe, that one day I should be obliged to oppose the world, in matters of religion; but when, or how that should be brought to pass, I did not foresee.

Remaining in a still and retired state, and the book of life being opened in my mind, I read what the Lord himself, by the finger of his power, had written, and the

the lion of the tribe of Judah had opened there ; and the scriptures of truth, written by Moses and the prophets, the evangelists and apostles of Christ, were brought to my remembrance daily, when I did not read them, and made clear and plain to my understanding and experience, so far as they related to my own state, and also in a general way ; though I lusted not to know any mystery or thing contained therein, other than the Lord, in his own free will and wisdom, thought fit to manifest.

And one night, being in bed, and all sleep and slumbering involuntarily suspended, and my mind quiet and easy, and directed towards the north, about the second hour in the morning ; after a short space, " I beheld a storm to arise in the northern ocean, towards the north pole ; and looking steadfastly upon it, and the height, force, and fury of the mighty waves, I saw an army innumerable walking thereon towards the south ; and when they came ashore, they covered the whole breadth of the island of Britain, and all the northern lands ; and the rear I could not see, or whence they issued. They were strangers in the earth ; such as have not been known ; their apparel plain, appearing as if they had come from far, and travelled long : but I saw no provision, baggage, sword, spear, or weapon of war, but only staffs in their hands, suiting their journey. Their countenances were grave, sober and calm, importing wisdom and peace ; and they offered no violence or hurt unto any : and yet all nations, being surprized and amazed with great and sudden fear, fled before them, and they did not pursue, otherwise than by walking forward in the same steady pace and order, as upon the stormy seas, which had not obstructed their march. The inhabitants of Britain, and of other lands, of all stations, ages, sexes, sects and ranks, as distracted and confounded with fears, and flying as for their lives,

" when

“when none pursued, fell, many of them by the way;
 “and lest they should be overtaken, when no man
 “gave them chase, they cried out aloud, with confused
 “shrieks and noises, raising their trembling hands;
 “and intermitting voices towards heaven, (which they
 “had deeply offended and neglected before) to im-
 “plore deliverance from the dreadful army, which
 “offered them no harm. And when Britain’s chil-
 “dren arrived at her southermost bounds, she joined
 “herself to the land of the ancient Gauls. And all
 “nations thus flowing together, as the concourse of
 “the waters into one sea, they vanished together,
 “and I saw them no more.”

As the nature and virtue of the divine essential truth increased in my mind, it wrought in me daily a great conformity to itself, by its own power; reducing my mind to a solid quietude and silence, as a state more fit for attending to the speech of the divine word, and distinguishing it from all other powers, and its divine influences from all imaginations and other motions; and being daily fed with the fruit of the tree of life, I desired no other knowledge than that which was given, in consequence of the strength of mind and understanding thence arising.

And on the afternoon of the 21st day of the 11th month, 1689, silence was commanded in me, though not by me; in which, it was given me to remain till the evening; and then that scripture, John xiii. 10, was brought to my remembrance; upon which I wrote as things opened in my mind, in manner following:

*“Jesus saith to him, he that is washed needeth not
 “save to wash his feet; but is clean every whit.”*

“The washing of the feet signifies the cleansing of
 “the ways; and those who are washed in the laver
 “of regeneration, will walk in clean paths, and bring
 “forth fruit according to the nature of the tree of
 “life: such will walk in faith, love, obedience, peace,
 “holiness,

“holiness, righteousness, judgment, mercy, and truth. And whosoever saith, he is of the Father, and hath not charity, he is a liar, and the living word ruleth not in him; for whosoever hath known the word, and abideth therein, hath the Father, because the word of truth beareth witness of the Father: and whosoever is born of God will keep his commandments.”

The conversation of mankind being generally upon trifles, not worthy of the thought of rational creatures, tending much more to vice than virtue; and my mind being a little renewed by the influence of the divine truth, I was much in silence and alone: and what thoughts I had, being upon other objects than those I had been conversant with before I knew the truth, I wrote also some other things, as they were presented in my mind, without any search or labour, and unexpected.

After this, a deep consideration returned upon and entered into my mind, concerning the states of many persons in the national way of worship, as also among the dissenters from it, of divers denominations, some of whose preachers I had occasionally heard; and had observed many others, who seemed to have sincerity and good intentions in their respective modes of worship; whence a question arose, whether it might not be through my own fault, for want of the true knowledge of God, in myself heretofore, that I did not enjoy his presence among them, as I had done, through his grace, since I had been visited by the Lord, and drawn into retirement, by the comforts of his secret presence; upon which I determined to go again and see, whether the good presence of the Lord would be manifested in me there, as alone in my retirements. And the place I went to was that called St. Cuthbert's, in the city of Carlisle; there being usually prayers and a sermon there in the afternoon of the first day; but not with that pomp, noise, and show, as at the cathedral,

cathedral, and therefore I rather chose it. And being seated there, as I had been often, and my mind retired inward to wait upon the Lord, as he himself had taught me; the Lord would not own that worship by his sensible presence (though in himself omnipresent) nor me in that place; but my mind became filled with darkness, and overwhelmed with trouble, to so great a degree, that I could hardly stay till the time was over; but lest I should do a thing which might be looked upon as indecent, I continued to the end, and returning to my chamber in trouble, I went not among any of them any more.

But though I thus declined all outward worship, or that which was called so, determining to follow the Lord wheresoever it might please him to lead me; yet I found an universal love, good-will, and compassion in my mind, to all sorts of people, whether Protestants of different denominations, Romans, Jews, Turks, or Heathens. But I observed their several religions, or what they accounted so, every man for himself, to be mostly the effect of education, tradition, or chance. For he who is born and educated among the Romans, is a Roman; and so of all the rest; till by accident, or interest, they change from form to form; or sometimes, though more rarely, through the inward convictions of the holy spirit of God, they obtain a right understanding, and worship him in truth.

Therefore I stood still, and waited for the further leadings of the Lord, and the evidence of his presence, what to do, or where to abide; though the Protestants in general, especially the national church, were still nearer me than any other sect.

Thus the world, in general, appearing to me dead with respect to the true knowledge of God, (notwithstanding the truth of some notions they held in relation to matters of fact, and literal interpretation) I did not then see that the Lord God had any collective body of people at that day, who, as such, truly worshipped

advancing that people, (meaning the Independents and Presbyterians) who had been so much hated, persecuted, and suppressed, now to be made the chief instruments of deliverance, restoration, and reformation, to the right way of the Lord, and to his own glory.

As he spoke, I observed he was not himself upon the true foundation, nor acquainted with the mind of the Lord on that account; but spoke from his own imagination, and particularly to his own sect, as he and they desired it should have been. And, as soon as he came to a period, finding my mind filled with the sweetness and meekness of Divine Truth, I replied,

“The divine Providence is indeed great over the
“children of men, and apparently over this nation
“and her dependents at this day; and the necessity
“of a right and thorough reformation is very great,
“and, in the proper time and way of the Almighty,
“will be brought to pass: but neither by the means
“nor instruments now in your view. For all the con-
“tenders one against another, by destructive force,
“are of one spirit divided against itself, under differ-
“ent forms and views, in which the strongest will
“advance themselves and their own way; but cannot,
“by such means, reform either themselves or others;
“as they ought to do in the sight of God; who does
“not approve or countenance violence, bloodshed,
“and unrighteousness in one sect, and condemn the
“same thing in another; and will therefore bring
“about that right reformation, by instruments of a
“different kind, and by another means and way, as it
“is written, *Not by might, nor by power; but by my
“Spirit, saith the Lord.*”

Upon this the stranger was much broken in spirit, and the tears run down his beard, and dropped upon his knee, as he sat by me; and after that, being filled with love, (the same which had reached him from my spirit) he embraced me in his arms, rejoicing that he
had

had met with me, with some encomiums I do not think proper to write, but said no more on any religious subject : soon after he departed, and I saw him no more.

I now proceed with the account of my further progress. On the conclusion of writing some things, as before-mentioned, the people called Quakers, were suddenly, and with some surprize, brought to my mind ; and so strongly impressed on my remembrance, that thenceforward I had a secret inclination to inquire further concerning them, their way and principles.

It was some time in the fifth month, 1691, when an opportunity was presented : the occasion of it was, some concerns that I had in the west parts of Cumberland, when, being in company with one of that profession, on a seventh-day night, and inquiring of him concerning some points of their religion, I perceived no material difference between his sentiments and mine, in the particulars then asked after ; and he also perceived I was nearer them than he (or perhaps any other) had thought, which gave him occasion to inform me of their meeting, to be held the next day, at a country village called Broughton.

As I had been desirous to be rightly informed concerning that people, and to see them as in truth they were, I was pleased with the opportunity ; and the next morning the friend and I set forward toward the meeting ; and he being zealous to have me further informed, and convinced of the truth of their way, spake of many things as we rode along, and with a good intent : but my mind being composed, and its attention directed towards God, who knew I only wanted to see the truth, and not be deceived, I could not take any distinct notice of what the friend said ; which he perceiving, after some time, desisted, and said no more. And then we rode some miles together in profound silence ; in which my mind enjoyed
a gentle

a gentle rest and consolation from the divine and holy presence.

And when we came to the meeting, being a little late, it was full gathered, and I went among the throng of the people on the forms, and sat still among them in that inward condition and mental retirement. And though one of their ministers, a stranger, began to speak to some points held by them, and declaiming against some things held by others, and denied by them; particularly predestination, as asserted by Presbyterians; yet I took not much notice of it: for as I did not doubt, but, like all other sects, they might have something to say, both for their own, and against the opinions of others; yet my concern was much rather to know, whether they were a people gathered under a sense of the enjoyment of the presence of God in their meetings; or, in other words, whether they worshipped the true and living God, in the life and nature of Christ, the Son of God, the true and only Saviour: and the Lord answered my desire, according to the integrity of my heart.

For, not long after I had sat down among them, that heavenly and watery cloud overshadowing my mind, brake into a sweet abounding shower of celestial rain, and the greatest part of the meeting was broken together, dissolved and comforted in the same divine and holy presence, and influence of the true, holy, and heavenly Lord; which was divers times repeated before the meeting ended; and, in the same way, by the same divine and holy power, I had been often favoured with before, when alone; and when no eye but that of heaven beheld, or any knew but the Lord himself, who, in infinite mercy, had been pleased to bestow so great a favour.

And, as the many small springs and streams, descending into a proper place, and forming a river, become more deep and weighty; even so thus meeting with

with a people gathered of the living God, into a sea of his divine and living presence, through Jesus Christ the Son of God and Saviour of the world, I felt an increase of the same joy of the salvation of God; the more, by how much I now perceived I had been under the like mistake, as the prophet of God of old, but now otherwise informed, by a sure evidence token; by the witness of the divine essential truth which no living soul can err, or be mistaken, or deceived; being self-evident and undeniable in all things who truly know him. Our joy was mutual and it was though in the efflux of many tears, as in cases of deepest and most unfeigned love; for the friends themselves being generally sensible, I was affected and tendered with them, by the influence of the divine truth that I knew and made profession of, did conclude, I had been at that time, and not before, convinced, and come to the knowledge or sense of the way of truth among them: and their joy was as of heaven, at the redemption of a penitent; and mine as the joy of salvation from God, in view of the work of the Lord, so far carried on in the earth; when I had thought not long before there had scarce been any true and living faith, knowledge of God in the world.

The meeting being ended, the peace of God, which passeth all the understanding of natural men, and is inexpressible by any language but itself alone, remained as a holy canopy over my mind, in a silence out of the reach of all words; and where no idea of the word himself can be conceived. But being invited together with the ministering friend, to a friend's house, I went willingly with them: but the sweet silence commanded in me, still remaining, I had nothing to say to any of them, till the Lord was pleased to draw the curtain, and veil his presence; and then I found my mind pure, and in a well-bounded liberty of innocent conversation with them.

And having staid there a short time, I was invited to dinner at the house of an ancient and honourable friend, in the village; where I had great freedom of conversation.

Being now satisfied, beyond my expectation, concerning the people of God, in whom the Lord had begun, and, in a good measure, carried on, a great work and reformation in the earth, I determined in my mind, that day, to lay aside every business and thing which might hinder, or veil in me, the enjoyment of the presence of the Lord, whether among his people, or alone; or obstruct any service, whereunto I was, or might be called by him; especially things of an entangling, or confining nature: not regarding what the world might say, or what shame they might impose upon me.

The business being over which had brought me into that part of the country, I returned to Carlisle; where I had been but about two weeks, till the friend before-mentioned, coming to town, informed me of their meeting for business, and affairs of their society, and invited me to it, being about four miles distant. At first I was a little surprized he should invite me to such a meeting, and hardly thought him prudent in it; for though things had happened as above, yet I had not made any outward profession with them, or declared myself of their communion: but though I found some aversion, rather than inclination, towards it, yet I yielded to go, that I might see how, and in what spirit and wisdom, they managed the discipline and business of their society, in matters of religion: that I might view them a little more clearly in all circumstances, before I should openly declare for their way in all things (some doubts yet remaining as to some points) and whether they thoroughly agreed with the idea I had conceived in my mind, of the state of the church of Christ, viz. That they believed in God
and

and Christ; were settled in the practice of Christian morality; that they were able to suffer any persecution, or opposition, for true religion, when thereunto called, in the course of divine Providence; that the mark of the disciples of Christ should be fairly upon them, *To love one another*, not in word and in tongue only, but in deed and in truth; and that they should be preserved by that love, in uniformity and unity among themselves; and also be loving and kind to all men, as occasion might offer: and evince the same, by doing them good, and never any harm.

These qualifications I had deemed sufficient to demonstrate such to be the children of God; brought forth in his image, righteousness, and true holiness in the mind, or inner man.

The meeting being set, they had first a time of silence, waiting upon God (as I did believe and practise) for the renewing and strengthening their minds; and after that they proceeded on the business of the day: and so it happened at that time, that a matter of moment among them was debated, and not without some warmth on both sides; but the zeal of both did not rise from the same root. It was concerning the manner and essence of their discipline, which a sect among them had opposed, from the time of the first proposal of any discipline among them as a society. The debates rising pretty high, and they observing me to be there; and most of them, I doubt not, having heard I seemed to favour their way; and being cautious lest I should take offence from their debates, not knowing the state of the case, or perhaps, not qualified to judge in matters so foreign to me, some of them put that friend who had introduced me, upon an inoffensive way to procure my absence; and accordingly he called me aside into an outer room, offering to discourse on some foreign subject; but as my mind in time of silence in the meeting had been comforted in the life of truth, I remained under the sense of it, having taken little

little other notice of what had passed in point of argument, than in what spirit they managed and contended on each side. But though I observed the friend's good intent in calling me out, I could take no cognizance of what he said; for a deep thought now entered my mind, whether these could yet be the people of God; since they seemed to be divided among themselves.

The friend, observing my silence, and that I was under a deep inward concern, became silent likewise, and a trouble also seized him, but of another kind; for I was concerned to know the truth, and on what side, if on either, it might lie; and he was afraid I had taken offence, and might depart from the beginning I had made among them. And thus we remained silent for some time; during which I plainly observed a struggle between two distinct powers, in the ground of nature working in myself, which exhibited two different ideas, or conclusions in my mind, concerning the matter then in hand, and the spirits and persons concerned as agents therein, viz.

That the first was truth establishing himself in his own nature, a law-giver and ruler in every member of his church and body, as alone needful to them who were truly so: but as he, who knoweth all things, did foresee that many would in time come into that profession, as of old, without any knowledge of the divine truth, or work of it in themselves, but, as thieves and robbers, climbing up some other way; by education, tradition, imitation, or sinister interests, and worldly views; who, not being under the rule and law of grace, in the second birth, would act and say of themselves, contrary to the way of truth, and church of the living God: and therefore, in his wisdom and power working in the minds of the just, he had early established, and was yet more firmly establishing, a due order among his people; for preserving the right, and passing judgment and condemnation on the

the wrong, and evil doers ; that such who should profess the truth of God, and yet walk contrary to the same, bringing forth fruits of another kind, might be bounded and confined by outward moral rules ; adapted to human reason and understanding. And, secondly, on the other hand, that the spirit of this world had been, and still was, working in the other sort, to oppose all order and discipline, and to live loose as they list, without any rule or account to the society, though professing the same truth with them ; and to be judged only by their own light, or what they called so, and accountable only to the spirit in themselves ; though several among that party were only against some branches of the discipline, already established by the body of the society, and not against the whole.

And, during this time of silence, I clearly beheld the contrary natures and ends of these differing spirits ; the one truth, the other error ; the one light, the other darkness ; the one for moral virtue, and a holy pure mind, and the other for loose and unbounded liberty ; and yet that these last, as creatures, did not see the sophistry of the evil one, to whom themselves were instruments, nor the snare, but intended well in their own view, and way of conceiving things. And, in proportion, and degree, as these distinctions were gradually made clear in my understanding at that time, the load and trouble I was under abated ; and, at last, my mind settled down again to its own center in peace, and became serene, as before ; which being fully sensible of, I was chearful, and said to the friend, we may now return into the house, for the danger is entirely over. I knew thy meaning before we came out of the other room ; and commend your care and caution. With this he was greatly pleased ; and so were the rest when they came to know it.

After this I was at some other meetings ; but little notice was taken of it by any of my relations or acquaintance, till the time of the assize at Carlisle ;
where

where some friends being prisoners in the county goal for non-payment of tithes, others attended the assizes, as their custom was, the better to obviate occasion of troubles, or hurt to any of the society, and to minister counsel, or other help, as need might be; and these went to a meeting at Scotby, about two miles from the city; and thither I went also. During the time of the meeting, I found a great and unusual load on my spirit, and hardness in my heart; insomuch that I could hardly breathe under the oppression; nor could I say, I had any sense of the comforts of the divine presence there, but that the heavens were as of thick brass, and the bars thereof as of strong iron. But though I had no enjoyment in myself, yet I was sensible the presence and goodness of the Lord was there, and many therein greatly comforted; and therefore did conclude my condition of mind was from some other cause, and not relating to the state of the meeting in general. I could not perceive the particular matter which thus affected me (for I knew not of any thing I had done or said to bring it on myself) till that evening being returned to my father's house, very solitary, silent, and inward, there came in an acquaintance of mine, who, after some compliments of civility, (for at that time I had not quite declined the common modes of salutation) desired to speak with me apart; and then told me, that he had a trial to come on the next day, concerning certain houses, being the greatest part of all he had in the world; that one of his witnesses to his deeds of conveyance was dead; another of them gone into Ireland, and could not be had; but I being the third, and having made the writings, he hoped, through my evidence, and credit, to gain his just point against his unfair adversary; and desired me to be in readiness in the morning; for the trial was like to come on very early.

As soon as he began this relation, the word of life began likewise to work in me, in a very powerful manner,

ner, and the holy hammer of the Lord I sensibly felt, and saw to be lifted up on that hardness of heart, which, for some time, (as above) had been my state; and it began to be broken, softened, and dissolved; and the sense of the love of God, in some degree to be renewed; and then I saw plainly that this was the hard thing I had to go through, and that now was the time of trial, wherein I must take up the cross of Christ; acknowledge his doctrine fully in that point, and openly, according to the understanding given me; and to despise the shame and reproach, and other sufferings which I well knew would ensue quickly; or I must forsake the Lord for ever: for, denying his doctrine, in the sense I had now plainly seen it, would be a denying of himself before men; and if I had then denied him, I could expect no less, but, according to his word, to have been denied of him, and left under that hardness of heart, and want of the enjoyment of his divine presence, wherewith I had been favoured before. But, according to the advances of the word and work of the Lord in me at that time, my heart inclined to him: and as my acquaintance was speaking, I was furnished with a resolution to give him a plain and direct answer; which was on this manner, "I am concerned it should fall out so, (for I had a real respect for him, and saw his case to be very hard) I will appear, if it please God, and testify what I know in the matter, and do what I can for you that way; but I cannot swear." This was so great a surprize to him, both from the nature of his case, and confidence he had of my ready compliance, he having had no occasion of any suspicion of my present condition till that moment; that he broke into a passion, and said, "What, you are not a Quaker!"

Though I had made confession to truth so far, in that point, and the divine presence sensibly returned, and advanced in me; yet upon this, I was again silent, till clear in my understanding what to answer in sincerity

cerity and truth : for as no body before that time had called me Quaker, so I had not assumed the appellation ; which being given in reproach was not grateful ; though the thing, in its proper sense, most delightful. Nor did I then see whether I had so much unity with all their tenets, as might justify me in owning the name, (for in the unity of divine love and life only I had known them) till the power of that life of him, who forbiddeth all oaths and swearing, arising yet clearer and fuller in me, opened my understanding, cleared my way, and enabled me thereto ; and then I said, “ I must confess the truth, I am a Quaker.”

But as this confession brought me still nearer to the Son of God, his love increasing yet more sensibly in me, so likewise it heightened the perplexity and disturbance of my friend ; who in an increase of heat, and expressions therefrom suiting so obvious a disappointment, as it then appeared to him, threatened to have me fined by the court, and proceeded against with the utmost rigour of the law ; “ What must I lose my estate by your groundless notions and whims ?” But the higher my enemy arose, and raged in this well-meaning, but mistaken man, who thus, without design, became the instrument of my trial, the fuller and more powerful still was the love of God ; whose cause I had now espoused, through his own aid, and the power of an endless life from him, made manifest in me : upon which I replied, in that calm of mind, and resignation to the will of God, that the life of the Son of God enables to, and teacheth. “ You may do what you think proper that way ; but “ I cannot comply with your request in this matter, “ whatever be the issue of it.” And then he departed under great dissatisfaction, with all the threats and reproaches his enraged passions could suggest to him, under a view of so great loss.

Immediately I retired into my chamber ; for perceiving my grand enemy to be yet at work, to introduce

duce a slavish fear, and, by that means, subject my mind, and bring me again into bondage, I was willing to be alone, and free from the interruptions of company; that I might more fully experience the arm of the Lord, and his divine instructions and counsel, in this great concern and exercise.

The enemy (being a crafty and subtle spirit) wrought upon my passions, not fully subjected, and more artfully applied to my natural reason (my understanding not being fully illuminated) as his most suitable instrument. He urged the fine and imprisonment, and the hardships accompanying that condition, and how little help I could expect from my father or friends; who would be highly displeased with me, for so foolish and unaccountable a resolution, as they would think it; and also the scoffings, derision, contempt, loss of friends and friendships in the world, with such other inconveniences, hardships and ill consequences, as the enemy could invent and suggest.

During all which time, from about eight in the evening till midnight, the eye of my mind was fixed on the love of God, which still remained sensible in me, and my soul cleaving thereto in great simplicity, humility, and trust therein, without any yielding to Satan, and his reasonings on those subjects, where flesh and blood, in its own strength, is easily overcome by him. But the Lord put him to utter silence, with all his temptations, for that season; and the life of the Son of God alone remained in my soul; and then, from a sense of his wonderful work, and redeeming arm, this saying of the apostle arose in me with power, *"The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death."*

And then the teachings of the Lord were plentiful and glorious; my understanding further cleared, and his holy law of love and life was settled in me; and I admitted into sweet rest with the Lord my Saviour, and given up in perfect resignation to his holy will, in

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whatsoever

whatsoever might relate to this great trial of my faith and obedience to the Lord. In the morning I went up toward the hall where the judges sat, expecting to be called as a witness in the case before-mentioned; but before I reached the place, I saw my said acquaintance approaching me, with an air in his countenance denoting friendship and affection: and when met, he said, "I can tell you good news; my adversary has yielded the cause; we are agreed to my satisfaction." Upon this I stood still in the street; and reviewing in my mind the work of the Lord in me the night before, as already related, this scripture came fresh into my remembrance in the life of it, *It is God who worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure*: for I was sensible it was the Lord's doing, and accounted it a great mercy and deliverance; though I was, by this means, exposed to the view and observation of all; the pity of many (as they judged of my case) and the scoffs and censure of the baser and more ignorant sorts, which was for Christ's sake only; for none had any immorality to charge me with.

This happened at the time of the assizes, and people from all quarters there. I quickly became the common subject of discourse and debate; for few could believe the report, and many came to see; and would get together talking and wondering; and when they happened to see me afar off in the streets, would come in crowds to gaze; some would take off their hats, and pretend to shew more than ordinary complaisance, saluting me as at other times; but I not making any returns of that kind, some would frown and scoff, and run away in loud laughter, saying I was mad; yet some others were struck with another passion; they turned pale, looked sorrowful, and returned weeping.

The fool's pretended pity and instructions, who could not see and pity his own miserable case, or knew what himself said, was hardest to bear; yet all these things did not provoke or move me; for the grace and presence

presence of the Lord was with me, and my full strength and preservation; my heart was surrounded with a rampart of invincible patience, and my soul filled with divine love.

This usage gave me a much clearer view of the low, mean, miserable, brutish state of many men, than I ever had before, or could have imagined. But I was more civilly used by some counsellors who came the circuit from London, among whom I had some business; they were kind, familiar, and without a scoff or taunting.

The business of the assizes being over, some of my acquaintance, gentlemen, both of town and country, who wished me well in their own sense, thinking I had been deluded, as they usually called it, by the Quakers, consulted how to restore and reclaim me, supposing those sentiments to be but lately embraced by me, and I not yet settled in them: though I do not think any of them knew what the true Quakers, or their principles, were.

The clergy generally shunned me, and I quickly observed a particular enmity in them against me; though I had no more aversion to them as men, than to others. But some of these others, supposing me melancholy, because reduced from my former airs and cheerfulness to silence and gravity, got together in a tavern, and my father with them, intending to have me among them to drink a hearty glass; and try, in their way, whether they could raise my spirits into a more sociable temper, and bring me off from such thoughts.

While they were contriving this scheme, I was retired alone in my chamber, and favoured with a sense of the good and soul-nourishing presence of the Lord; but after some time a concern came upon me, which gave me to expect something was in agitation concerning me; and soon after an attorney at law, of my acquaintance, came from the company to me, and mentioned certain gentlemen who desired to see me at
the

the tavern. I was not hasty to go, looking for the countenance of the Lord therein, neither did I refuse; but my father, and some others, being impatient to have me among them, came likewise to me. I arose from my seat when they came in, but did not move my hat to them, as they to me: upon which my father wept; and said, I did not use to behave so to him: I intreated him not to resent it as a fault; for though I now thought fit to decline that ceremony, it was not in disobedience, or disrespect to him or them; for I honoured him as much as ever, and desired he would please to think so, notwithstanding exterior alteration. But most of the rest kept up another air, hoping to bring me into the same at the tavern; but I, through grace, saw their intents, and was aware; and I had now freedom in my mind to go among them: and when we came there, the company all arose from their seats, and seeming generally glad, put on an air of pleasantness. In seating themselves again, they placed me so, as that I was in the midst of them, and then they put the glass round; and to relish it the more, they began a health to King William. But the secret presence of the Lord being with me, though hid from them, it affected them all in a way they did not expect; for scarce had two of them drank, till their countenances changed, and all were silenced. The glass nevertheless went forward, till it came to me, and then I told them, I wished both the King and them well, and if I could drink to the health of any at all, I should more especially to the King's; but should drink no health any more; and so refused it, and the glass never went round; for several of them fell a weeping, and were much broken, and all of them silenced for a time; which, when over, some of them said, They believed I intended well in what I did, and that every man must be left to proceed in the way which he thinks right in the sight of God: and so we parted in solid friendship. It was the secret grace of
God

God which wrought this ; and to him, the Lord alone, did I impute it. And the company dispersing, I returned to my chamber in divine peace, and true tranquillity of mind, with which I was favoured for many days.

I had not, all this while, conversed with any friends about their principles, or read any of their books, nor did any of them come near me for some time ; for my father would not then allow them to come to his house : yet some of them not long after sent me three small books, which I took kindly, as well intended. But I was favoured of the Lord with something to give me understanding and support in time of need, more excellent than books ; for that book, which had been sealed as with seven seals, was now, in measure, opened by the powerful voice of the Lion of the royal tribe, and by the holy Lamb of God, even the book of the eternal law of God ; the law of the Spirit of life from the Father, by Christ the Son, Redeemer of the world : and my delight was to read day and night therein ; by which I profited more, in a short time, in the knowledge of God, and the things of his holy kingdom, than if I could have read and understood all the written and printed books in the world. I therefore declined reading these till a more proper season, and then I looked into one of the books aforesaid, a small Tract concerning Prayer : for it must be allowed, that the reading of good books, especially the Holy Scriptures, the chief of all, is highly profitable and commendable.

Some time after this, Dr. Gilpin, an able physician, and celebrated preacher among the Presbyterians, sent his son, a counsellor, under whom I had been initiated in the study of the law, and who still retained a great affection for me, to invite me to his house at Scaleby Castle, and desired to see some of the Quakers books, supposing I had been imposed upon by reading them ; and I sent him, as I remember, all that I had.

Soon after I had parted with these books, I observed a cloud come over my mind, and an unusual concern; and therein the two sacraments (commonly so called) came afresh into my remembrance, and divers scriptures and arguments pro and con; and then I was apprehensive the Doctor was preparing something of that sort to discourse me upon; and I began to search out some scriptures in defence of my own sentiments on those subjects: but as I proceeded a little in that work, I became more uneasy and clouded; upon which I sat still, looking towards the Lord for counsel. And as this caution was presented in the life and virtue of truth, I rested satisfied therein, and searched no further on that occasion.

When I went to his house, he entered into a discourse on those subjects, and had such passages of scripture folded down as he proposed to use: upon observing this, I was confirmed that my sight of him, in my own chamber at Carlisle, and of his work some days before, was right; and my mind was strengthened thereby. But, before he began to move upon the subject, he dismissed every other person out of the room; so that himself and I remained alone.

The first thing he said, was, in a calm manner, to admonish me to be very cautious how I espoused the errors of the Quakers; for he had heard of late, and with concern, that I had been among them, or seemed to incline that way. I answered, that I had not been much among them; nor seen any of their books, but those I had sent him; and knew not of any errors they held. Yes, said he, they deny the ordinances of Christ, the two sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's supper; and then opened his book at one of his down-folded leaves, where he read thus:

"Unto the church which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints."

And, at another folded down part, he read thus:
"For I have received of the Lord, that which also I delivered"

*“livered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night
“in which he was betrayed, took bread: and when he
“had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this
“is my body which is broken for you: This do in remem-
“brance of me. After the same manner also he took the
“cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New
“Testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink
“it, in remembrance of me: for as often as ye eat this
“bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord’s death
“till he come.”*

Upon these scriptures he raised this argument,
“That though the Corinthians at that time were
“sanctified in Christ, and called to be saints, yet
“they still needed this ordinance, and were to con-
“tinue in it, according to the apostle’s doctrine, till
“the coming of Christ at the end of the world; and
“he did not think the Quakers more holy or perfect
“Christians than the Corinthians at that time; and,
“consequently, that no state in this life can render
“that ordinance needless to them, or overgrow it.”

To this I replied, “That though some of those
“Corinthians had obeyed the call of God, and were
“at that time sanctified by faith in Christ; yet others
“of them had not obeyed the call, but were remain-
“ing in gross sins and pollutions: but as they had
“been heathens, and convinced by the ministry of that
“apostle, as appears by the beginning of the second
“and fifteenth chapters of that epistle, he had first of
“all preached to them Christ’s coming in the flesh
“among the Jews; his life, miracles, doctrine, death
“for our sins, and resurrection from the dead, as
“saving truths; but does not so much as mention
“this supposed ordinance among them.

“But, considering their weak and carnal state, and
“incapacity then to reach the knowledge of divine
“mysteries, the apostle had, in their initiation into
“the Christian religion, related to them the sayings of
“Christ on that subject; and they had been in the
“practice,

“ practice, or rather abuse of it, till the time of writing
 “ that epistle; yet, if the words of that epistle, in
 “ that place, be impartially observed, without prepos-
 “ session or prejudice, and compared with other scrip-
 “ tures, it will appear, that there is not any positive
 “ command for it at all, much less is it made a stand-
 “ ing ordinance; but left to the option and discretion
 “ of his disciples; to whom it was first mentioned
 “ how often they should do it, and, consequently also,
 “ how long they should continue it, as appears by the
 “ same text now adduced, viz. *This do, as often as ye do*
 “ *it, in remembrance of me.*

“ To set this matter in a clearer light, it is well
 “ known, that, at the time of the redemption of the
 “ Jews from their Egyptian slavery, the passover, with
 “ the paschal lamb, was instituted as a standing ordi-
 “ nance, in commemoration of it, until Christ, the
 “ Lamb of God, and antitype of that figure, should
 “ come: but as Israel, offending the Lord, was after-
 “ wards sent into captivity under the Babylonians, they
 “ could not, in that state, and under that government,
 “ celebrate it in form; and therefore they invented
 “ another way to keep that great deliverance in mem-
 “ ory, which was this: The father, or chief of the
 “ family, at the proper time of the paschal supper,
 “ took bread, and blessed it, saying, ‘Blessed be thou,
 “ O Lord our God, who gives us the fruit of the
 “ earth;’ then dividing it among the company, in like
 “ manner he also took the cup, and blessing it, said,
 “ ‘Blessed be thou, O Lord, who gives us the fruit of
 “ the vine.’ This they did in a solemn manner, re-
 “ membering their Egyptian slavery and deliverance;
 “ lamenting their present state, acknowledging their
 “ sins, and the justice of God in their punishment;
 “ and hopes of his mercy from his former kind deal-
 “ ings, and gracious promises.

“ The Jews, being thus initiated into this practice,
 “ upon so solemn an occasion as the Lord’s being
 “ pleased

"pleased to remember them with redemption a second
 "time, the succeeding generations continued it, as
 "incident to the passover, until the Lord Christ, the
 "antitype (as well of the paschal lamb, as of the
 "bread and wine) did come; who, when he appeared,
 "was declared by John the Baptist to be *the Lamb of*
 "*God which taketh away the sin of the world;* and he
 "declared himself to be *the bread of life, the living*
 "*bread which came down from heaven:* proclaiming
 also, and that very emphatically, that *his flesh is meat*
 "*indeed, and his blood is drink indeed;* that *except they*
 "*ate his flesh, and drank his blood, they had no life in*
 "*them.* And all this was meant of the spirit of Christ,
 "and not of his flesh; *it is the Spirit that quickeneth,*
 "*the flesh profiteth nothing.*

"The time drawing near when the Lamb of God
 "was to be slain, and offered as a sacrifice, declaring
 "the mercy of God the Father, who sent him in love
 "to the whole world, he then said to his disciples,
 "*With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you*
 "*before I suffer:* and, at the time of it, as father and
 "chief of his flock and family, he celebrated the pass-
 "over in form, with this difference only, that whereas
 "the Jews, until that time, in the celebration of it,
 "had looked back to the type, and outward deliver-
 "ance from Egypt, the Lord now directs them to
 "himself, as the antitype of all figures; and tells
 "them, he would not any more eat thereof (the pass-
 "over) until it should be *fulfilled in the kingdom of God;*
 "nor drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day,
 "*when he should drink it new with them in his Father's*
 "*kingdom.*

"Which eating and drinking in the kingdom of
 "God cannot relate to material bread and wine,
 "which can only be exhibited as symbols of the out-
 "ward body of Christ, and the blood of that holy
 "body; which, to be eat and drank in a natural sense,
 "profiteth nothing: but to the all-quickenning virtue
 "and

“ and power of his holy Spirit ; which is all in all, and
 “ true feeding to the commonwealth of the whole Is-
 “ rael of God. And therefore this passover, or any
 “ part or relative to it, whether bread, wine, or any
 “ matter in it, could be of no further use or obligation
 “ to the disciples of Christ, than till they should ex-
 “ perience in themselves his divine and spiritual ap-
 “ pearance and coming in them ; and to be the same
 “ to their souls, or minds, which natural food and
 “ drink is to the body ; its support, strength, nourish-
 “ ment, and means of duration : which divine coming
 “ of Christ, as such, can mean no other than his being
 “ made manifest in a spiritual administration : for, as
 “ he is that eternal Spirit of essential Truth, and word,
 “ wisdom, and power of God, it is not strictly to say
 “ of him (in that sense) that he shall come or go any
 “ where, but to be made manifest ; for, as such, he
 “ ever was, is, and will be omnipresent, and never ab-
 “ sent from any time or place. His coming then must
 “ intend his powerful manifestation where he already
 “ is, and not a loco-motive coming from where he is,
 “ to any other place where he was not before : *for the*
 “ *heaven of heavens cannot contain him.*

“ Seeing then this was only the passover, and the
 “ terms of the application of it to himself not institu-
 “ tive of any new command or ordinance, but a liberty
 “ to do, or not to do it, at discretion, *This do ye, as oft*
 “ *as ye drink it, in remembrance of me*, laid no obligation
 “ upon them to do it any more at all, it being ended
 “ by the manifestation of its antitype ; and, in the na-
 “ ture of the thing, could be of no further obligation,
 “ or reasonable use, when Christ himself was witness-
 “ ed in them, to be that eternal, everlasting, never-
 “ failing, divine substance.

“ But the apostle Paul, whose concern for the Jews
 “ and zeal for the conversion of the Gentiles, to
 “ in an especial manner, he was sent, engaged
 “ *become all things to all men, that by all means he might*
 “ *gain*

“ gain some, recommended to the Corinthians the
 “ practice of the passover, with the new application
 “ of it to Christ, at the time of their first believing in
 “ him by that apostle’s ministry; that being yet car-
 “ nally minded, they might have an outward commu-
 “ nion, till the true communion should be made
 “ known, which their state at that time could not
 “ bear: as, in point of prudence only, he practised
 “ some other legal rites, at some times; which, in his
 “ doctrine, he condemned at other times, where the
 “ state of the people was able to bear it.

“ And it is much more likely, considering the na-
 “ ture and end of the gospel, and its excellency above
 “ the law and all legal and typical rites, as substances
 “ excel shadows, that the apostle, observing how much
 “ some of the Corinthians had abused the passover in
 “ practice, and their very carnal state under it, was
 “ rather, by that epistle, endeavouring to supersede it,
 “ and bring them off to the living substance; where
 “ he saith to such among them as were already sanc-
 “ tified, and to whom he inscribed his epistle—*I speak*
 “ *as to wise men, judge ye what I say; the cup of bless-*
 “ *ing, which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood*
 “ *of Christ? The bread, which we break, is it not the*
 “ *communion of the body of Christ? For we being many,*
 “ *are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of*
 “ *that one bread.*

“ It is plain therefore, that the communion of the
 “ sanctified and wise in Corinth, stood not in the
 “ bread which perisheth, nor in the wine of the grape,
 “ which some of the Corinthians were carnally abusing,
 “ but in the quickening spirit and power of Christ, the
 “ true, living, life-giving, and life-preserving bread;
 “ which daily comes from heaven into all the sancti-
 “ fied and saved of the Lord.

“ This is that spirit that quickens and preserves to
 “ life eternal; the flesh profiteth nothing: and, since
 “ it is so, much less does any symbol of the flesh pro-
 “ fit,

“fit, but the divine substance only. This is that
“substance, of which the apostle draws the compari-
“son; *we, being many, are one bread*: for as wheat
“consists of many particular grains, each containing
“a distinct principle of life after its kind, and all of
“the same nature, which, being broken, and rightly
“prepared and ordered by the good husbandman, be-
“come one bread; even so is the church of Christ:
“every member, in his natural state, being alienated
“from the life of God, through the ignorance and
“darkness that was in him, and separated also one
“from another, as without a proper medium and con-
“dition of union; but being ordered and prepared by
“the Father of mercies, through Christ his eternal
“word, they become one body, and one spirit, the
“church; which is his body; the fulness of him who
“filleth all in all.”

This is the substance of what I observed to the Doctor, though I have expatiated somewhat further on the subject in this place, and generally applied the scriptures; to which he made little other reply, than by telling me, in a very calm and familiar manner, that as he had always believed it to be an ordinance of Christ, he had solemnly used it as such, and found comfort in it. To which I returned, that I did not doubt but he might have some satisfaction in it, since he believed it a remaining ordinance, and did it under that apprehension. Whosoever in his heart believes any thing to be a standing duty in the church of Christ, which ever had any countenance in it by practice, and performs it faithfully, according to his belief and understanding, may find a satisfaction in it.

But since God, in mercy, is pleased to afford the living substance, without the use of those means which are supposed to lead to an end already attained, they can be no more a duty to such; and that is the case among the true Quakers, who love and fear the Lord sincerely.

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As to the other point, viz. Baptism, he said but little about it; and I only asked him this question, whether he did believe it necessary to salvation? He answered, that he did not think it absolutely necessary.

Then he said, that seeing the Quakers pretended, that they did not know before they went to meetings, whether they should preach or pray, or what way in either, and yet travelled in strange places; how could they speak to the states of the people, or be joined with in prayer? To this I answered, that such as went to a meeting empty of all things, and waited upon God, were often filled with his Holy Spirit, who knows all states, at all times and places: and if the preacher attend to him, as he ought, and deliver those matters opened to him at the time, the Lord both gives the word, and makes the application to every state, in every particular person; which no preacher or instrument, of himself, is able to do. And as to the joining in prayer, all right prayer is by the aid of the spirit of Christ, the mediator between God and man; which in that respect is called the spirit of prayer and of supplications; and as such is promised of the Father to the church, and received by her: and her unity in prayer stands, not so much in the form of words, though sound and pertinent, as in the nature, virtue, and influence of the Holy Spirit of Christ, her holy head, life, lawgiver, and comforter.

He did not oppose this, but was after much more free and familiar with me than before, or than I expected; and so we parted in friendship, and I returned in peace and gladness.

“From henceforth I was easy, as to every thing
 “any of that sort could say: and divers disputes I
 “have had with many of them since, in other parts
 “of the world; but never began any controversy, be-
 “ing always on the defensive side; and rarely entered
 “upon any point in question, till I knew the divine

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“truth

“ truth over all in my own mind, and my will subject-
“ ed by it. My next care was, not to provoke my
“ opponent ; for by keeping him calm, I had his own
“ understanding, and the measure of grace in him,
“ for truth, and my point, against the error he con-
“ tended for ; and my chief aim generally hath been,
“ to gain upon people’s understandings for their own
“ good. But when a man is put into a passion, he
“ may be confounded, but not convinced : for passion
“ is as scorching fire without light ; it suspends the
“ understanding, and obstructs the way to it, so that
“ it cannot be gained upon, or informed, which ought
“ to be the true aim in all conferences and reasoning
“ in matters of religion ; else all will end in vain
“ and unprofitable jangling, contrary to the nature of
“ the thing they reason about, and displease the Holy
“ One, and end in trouble. But two or three times
“ at most, in the course of my life, in too hasty en-
“ gagements in my own strength, and off my full
“ guard, my mind hath been ruffled : and though I
“ have gained the point by force of argument, from
“ the principle of reason only, and not from the prin-
“ ciple of divine truth ; yet I have not had that peace
“ and satisfaction of mind which is to be found in the
“ virtue of truth alone. And this has also taught me
“ to be totally silent, and sometimes even insulted by
“ ignorants, as if I had nothing to say ; till the power
“ and virtue of truth hath arisen in my mind, and then
“ it hath never failed, by its own light and evidence,
“ to support its own cause, and justify me.”

After this I had divine peace and consolation in my mind for some time, and was mercifully favoured with the living bread from above daily ; and I went constantly to the meetings of friends, where, in a state of silence, my heart was frequently tendered and broken by the divine influence of the powerful truth, to my unspeakable satisfaction : a holy pleasure and enjoyment, which the world, or any thing therein, can never afford.

Our meetings in the north, in those days, were frequently broken and melted in silence, as well as under a powerful living ministry, by the word. In the mean time my father began a little to relent, and admit some friends to come to my chamber to see me; and he was brought, by degrees, into a pretty low state of mind: and one day, as I was sitting by him, he read in a book, intitled *Clark's Lives*, &c. (as I remember) when I observed his tears to drop upon the book, but he did not know that I perceived it; and after he had wiped his face, he turned towards me, and said: "I see
" there have been in former times as great fools as
" you, to leave their friends and preferments in the
" world, for their opinions in religion."

But he did not remain long in this condition; for the spirit of the world began to work another way. Some of his acquaintance, discoursing with him concerning me, one day said to him: "We know your
" son very well; though young, he is no fool, you
" know the Quakers are an opulent people, and their
" principles lead them to refuse the payment of tithes
" to the clergy, which together with other oppositions
" they meet with from one or other, occasions many
" law suits, and much business: and as they favour
" one another in all things, particularly in trade, and
" the like, you will see he will have as much business
" soon as any man in England, and will be well paid
" without question."

This temptation, being skilfully adapted, took immediately with him, and entered very deep, the ill effects whereof quickly appeared. For he soon got from under that humble state of mind, and tenderness he had in some degree experienced; and though his countenance seemed very open and chearful towards me, yet it was from that wrong ground and worldly view, which greatly loaded and oppressed my mind. For, as I clearly perceived the practice of the law, and to be frequently in the suits and contests of the
world,

world, would be inconsistent with divine peace in my own mind, expose me to many temptations, and confine me so that I could not follow the Lord in that way wherein I understood he was leading me, and purposed to bring me forward; that is, not only in sanctification and justification, for my own salvation, but also in a publick ministry of that holy and powerful word of life, by which the Lord, of his own free will and grace, had called me; and, to that end, I knew was working in me qualifications suiting his own purpose thereby: and therefore my secret concern was, how to get rid of that great and dangerous obstruction; well knowing it would very much oppose my father's views; heightened, as aforesaid, and I was loth to offend him; but had no concern, prospect, or doubt then, as to a way of living in the world. And, on the other hand, to offend the Lord by neglect, or disobedience, was justly to forfeit his mercy and favour, and cancel the seal of the covenant of life; depending, on my part, upon perseverance in moral righteousness, and a faithful future obedience to his holy calling; for, where the word of God is given, and become a law of life, and an immediate director, disobedience in that case is of an higher nature, and more immediately attended with the sensible and dreadful condemnation of this immortal law, thus ministered, than for the neglect of any moral command, mediately administered to mankind, whilst yet in a natural and rational state only.

Duty to the Almighty, and the will and earthly views of my natural parent, becoming opposite, I remained not long in suspense what to do. For as, through grace, I had been enabled to take up the cross of Christ, in confessing his holy name, in the dispensation of God to his people at that time; so, by the same grace, I was likewise enabled to undergo the displeasure of my father, to close my eyes from all worldly views, and to stop my ears from hearkening to any preferments

preferments there; and being furnished with a full resolution in my mind to decline the practice of the law, though the only thing designed as a means of life. Accordingly, the next persons who came to employ me in business of that kind, I refused in my father's presence; and told them, in his hearing, I should not undertake business of that kind any more.

Upon this the load went off my mind; but from that time my father's countenance was changed towards me, and his behaviour quite another thing; often asking me how I expected to live in the world: as if he had feared I should become a dead charge upon him.

This temptation being overcome, another quickly followed; the world had formed a false notion in those days, that our ministers, like their priests, were well paid by the society for preaching, and generally grew rich by that means; they not knowing of any reasonable motive for such an undertaking, but lucre only; and some having told my father, that such and such ministering friends, whom he knew, went often abroad, preaching, and as often brought home good sums of money; and that his son, being ingenious, would soon learn to preach among them, get money, and become rich too: this seemed to take some hold, and he would, now and then, pass a joke upon me about it; but I being silent for some years after, it afforded him no great hopes of my living by it.

My delight was continually in the truth, and I desired no company but of friends, and frequented meetings on all occasions, where my heart was frequently tendered by the truth, and it often reached and affected others by me; so that I became very dear to friends, and they to me. As that tenderness was in its nature an involuntary ministry, being an operation of the spirit without words, I found for some time great satisfaction and safety in it. And desiring to see friends in some other places, I went a short journey with

Andrew Taylor, a powerful and able minister in his day, of an affable and cheerful temper, and one of my particular friends.

On the 20th of 12th month 1691, we went from Heatherside in Cumberland, and had meetings at several places in this and some neighbouring counties; but I had no other publick ministry in this journey, than being frequently much tendered in the several meetings to my great satisfaction, and the comfort of many who wished me well for the truth's sake, and desired my prosperity therein.

After this, I remained at my father's-house, though under many inward loads and burthens in the family, none of them having a sense of truth: and, keeping constantly to meetings, and living near the divine truth, I was thereby preserved from the attending evils and temptations, till the Lord opened a way for another journey; which was as followeth:

On the 19th of 11th month 1692, I met with John Bowstead by appointment at Healy-hall, not far from Newcastle upon Tyne; and after having meetings in these parts, on the 2d of 12th month we arrived at Edinburgh in Scotland, and were at the quarterly meeting there on the same day, which being ended, we met with Thomas Rudd, who had some days before come from England, and had been several times through the city and colleges of Edinburgh, crying, *Wo to the sandy foundation*; with some other words of the like import, warning the people *to fear before the Lord, the mighty God of heaven and the earth, and to turn from the evil of their ways.*

He had a voice suited to the measure of his words, with an innocent boldness in his countenance. John Bowstead and I, though we had a good will to the cause, and personal love to our friend, sufficient to have engaged us with him in any service warranted by a degree of the like concern and call, and to go with him through the city; yet we were not willing to

to hazard our lives, or liberty, as intruders into his concerns, not finding any thing from the Lord so to do. We therefore went to the friend's house, where we lodged, to wait the issue of our friend's undertaking, where we had not sat down, till it pleased the Lord to give us a more evident fellow-feeling of our friend's concern, in great brokenness of heart, in which we were constrained to go up into the city after him, where we found him delivering his message to a great multitude of people; some of whom had thrust him down into a low shop, in the High-street; from whence, ever as he attempted to move, the rabble pushed him back. Nevertheless, the power of the Lord was over the multitude, both in him, and in us; so that all fear of them was removed from us by the protecting arm of the Lord, who is ever near to deliver such as act in his counsel, in the time of greatest danger.

In the mean time, John Bowstead, being a bold able bodied man, pressed through the crowd, and taking Thomas Rudd by the arm, advanced him into the street, near the cross, where he had again some warnings for the people. Some mocked, yet others among them were put upon a more serious consideration, what could engage us thus to appear in a place of so imminent danger. From the Cross we went down the High-street and Cannongate, till we came to the Tolbooth, over against which stood several companies of soldiers, to whom T. Rudd spoke some words by way of warning, as before; and I did not observe that any of them offered the least opposition: but as we were passing by them, intending to go to our lodgings, there came a certain civil officer from the chief bailiff of the city, to summon Thomas before him; who accordingly went, and after the bailiff had examined him about such things as he thought fit to object, he was committed to the Tolbooth of the city; but

but was not long detained there, orders being given the next day for his releasement.

After this, Thomas Rudd preached to the people again in the street, with little or no interruption, the multitude being as still as if we had been in a meeting of friends, and many persons of the greater rank leaned out at the windows, and heard the sound of the truth.

Thus the people being, as it were chained by the mighty and invisible power of truth, and our spirits over them, and at liberty by the same, to his glory and our great consolation, we went to our lodgings; where we had been but a short time, till a messenger came from the Countess of Kincairn, to invite Thomas Rudd to her lodgings, in order to have some discourse with him concerning his message, and to know whether he had denounced any judgment against the city; for the adversary, by his emissaries, had invented and spread a rumour, that T. Rudd had prophesied, that in seven days the city should be destroyed.

In the afternoon we went to the Countess, and Thomas Ballantyne with us, a friend who had been through the streets with Thomas Rudd before we came to town, and continued with us during the whole time. This Countess was an ancient woman, and of a grave and serious deportment: she was kind and courteous to us, entertained us with respect, and acknowledged several doctrines of truth, so far as we had occasion to discourse her. She also acknowledged a sense of the great provocations that city had given the Lord to bring severe judgments upon it; and told Thomas Rudd, she had heard he had spoken against the Presbyterian church, of which she was: To which he answered, that he was concerned by the Lord to cry, *Wo against the sandy foundation*; and if the Presbyterians were concerned there, they would do well to look to it.

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From thence we went to the Lady Collington's lodgings, who, in the time of Thomas Rudd's imprisonment, had sent to him to know if he wanted any thing; and had likewise sent her maid to invite him to her house after he was at liberty. She entertained us respectfully, and discoursed matters that occurred seriously; but in the mean time came in a priest, and one Dr. Sibbald, a physician, with whom we had some dispute: the matter in controversy with the Doctor was baptism: we made short work with him, but the particulars not exactly remembered, are therefore omitted.

But the priest, being a young man, and a little too forward to engage in matters he did not understand; and the controversy with him being concerning the ministry, I cited a passage out of the first epistle of John, viz. *"But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you; and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth and is no lie; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him."* And asked the priest what this anointing was, and how the same taught: to which he was silent, not without blushing in the presence of the Lady.

Then I inquired of him further about his call to the ministry, and by what authority he took upon him that office. To which he answered, "There is an external call, and an internal call." The external I passed over, and asked him what his internal was? and by what? He replied, "That it was by the light of God's grace which was in him." I replied, "Take heed how thou ascribest so much power to the light within, lest thou be reputed a Quaker." Upon this he desisted to prosecute the argument any further, and dropped the defence of his internal call, but betook himself to accusations; and speaking to Thomas Rudd, said, "We have ministers here already sufficient to instruct the people, and need not you to
" make

“make such disturbance in the city.” To which one present answered, “It was not they that made the disturbance, it was your hearers;” meaning, that the unruly people were, for the most part, of the same profession with him.

A pause of silence coming over us, and truth over all, Thomas Rudd said some few things to the old Lady, and John Bowstead to the Priest and Doctor, and then we departed in peace with the Lord, and in favour and respect with most of the auditory, which were many more than I have mentioned in particular.

Having finished our concerns at Edinburgh, we went into a ferry-boat at Leith, on the 6th of the same month, and arrived at Kinghorn, and next day at Couper; through which Thomas Rudd went with the same message as at Edinburgh, and J. Bowstead and I went with him. The people came forth as bees from a shaken hive, so that the streets were quickly filled. We went through the town unmolested, and came back near the place where we began. Then came one of the bailiff's officers, and summoned T. Rudd to appear before him, which he did; and the bailiff inquired by what authority, or power, he preached unto that people? Thomas answered, By the authority of the Word of God, nigh in his heart, by which a necessity was laid upon him; as it is written, *Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh; and a good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things.*

The bailiff being a moderate man, and trembling a little whilst he examined Thomas Rudd, though in the presence of many of the people, did not detain him long, but dismissed him without the least rebuke, or scurrility; after which, and a short exhortation to the people by J. Bowstead, and some few words to them by myself (being the first I had ever uttered in a publick manner) we departed thence. The two officers, and a multitude of the inhabitants, very lovingly conducting

conducting us out of town to a green hill a little without, directing us the way we inquired after with great respect. And when we were about a quarter of a mile gone from them, the tender love of truth being much manifested in us, we were constrained thereby to look back, when we saw the multitude still standing on the hill looking after us, and that love flowed towards them, as from an open fountain: in the sense whereof we were tendered and broken. *There will be a tender people there in time.*

We went to Dundee the same day, where Thomas Rudd preached through the streets, J. Bowstead and I going with him. No incivility was there offered to us, save only that a soldier took Thomas Rudd by the arm, and bid him be silent; but offered no further violence. Being come quite through the town in that service, the Lord dropped his peace upon us, and we went on in great joy and comfort in his good presence, being lovingly directed on our way by one of the inhabitants.

From hence we went to Montrose, Aberdeen, and Inverness, preaching in the streets of these, and other places, as we passed along: at times meeting with rough treatment; nevertheless, through the secret over-ruling power of the Lord, were preserved from much personal hurt. We felt much love in our hearts to the people, and some listened to the testimony we had to deliver with attention, and expressed no small kindness to us.

Whilst my companions were at Inverness, finding a concern upon me, I went to the house of William Falconer, an episcopal priest, at Forris, who had been displaced some time before by the Presbyterians, Robert Gerrard accompanied me; there was one that was a steward to a nobleman with him, and some others besides his own family. He seemed to receive us with respect, and after sitting quiet and inward a little, I had something concerning the many divisions in

in the pretended Christian world; to which I was answered, "That the bishop of Rome, under pretence of being the successor of Peter, and as such infallible, hath usurped a dictatorship over the Christian world in matters of religion, and imposed a multitude of antichristian errors by unreasonable force upon mankind; but God, having committed his whole will unto writing in the Holy Scriptures, and in the course of his Providence preserved them unto us, we have our whole duty declared therein, as our rule and guide in matters of religion; so that we are not to expect the manifestations of the spirit, as in times past, that dispensation being now ceased."

I replied, "That what he had said of the bishop of Rome was true, and that the Scriptures are the most excellent books extant; which were given from time to time by the word of the Lord, which is the Spirit of Christ: but men may read and speak the truths contained in the Scriptures one to another, and the readers and speakers remain still ignorant of the word of the Lord, and of the things themselves intended to be signified by the words; and not been sent of God (as the Scriptures send no man) cannot profit the hearers, but are themselves transgressors in so doing, unless they were sent by the influence, power, and virtue of the same Word that did dictate the matters of the Scriptures unto the Holy Penmen thereof; as appears by the 23d chapter of the prophecy of Jeremiah. And then I called for a bible and read: *The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully: what is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord? Is not my word like a fire, saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces? Therefore, behold, I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my words, every one from his neighbour. Behold, I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that use their*
"tongues,

"tongues, and say, *He saith; yet I sent them not, nor*
commanded them; therefore they shall not profit this
people at all, saith the Lord. So that it is contrary
 "to the declared mind of God, that any should use
 "his words to others, as his ministers, who are not
 "sent by himself so to do; for though they have been
 "his words unto others, those who use them without
 "his command, are charged by him as thieves; espe-
 "cially such as make merchandize of them to the
 "people.

"As to the dispensation of the Spirit being now
 "ceased, I am sorry to hear it is so; for I can shew
 "thee to whom it is so ceased, but not to the church
 "of Christ. Then I turned to the 3d chapter of the
 "prophecy of Micah, where it appears, that for the
 "ignorance, cruelty, and injustice of the princes or
 "heads of the people, the Lord would not hear or
 "regard them.

"But God is with his people still, as in former
 "times, according to the promise of his Son: *If a*
man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father
will love him, and we will come unto him, and make
our abode with him." More was said on the occa-
 "sion, which the auditory heard with patience; and we
 "departed in peace and in friendship with them, and
 "went to our inn.

On the 4th of 1st month we came back to Urie,
 where we had a meeting among friends (as in divers
 other places); from whence Thomas Rudd went back
 to Aberdeen, and John Bowstead and I went on to
 Edinburgh.

On the 13th we went to Linlithgow, and had a
 meeting among friends there: on the 15th to Hamil-
 ton, and had another there; and on the 19th were at
 a meeting with friends in Glasgow, being the first day
 of the week, which was somewhat disturbed by three
 of the town officers, sent by the provost for that
 purpose: but through the good presence of the Lord

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we

we were much comforted and strengthened against it all.

That afternoon we went back to Hamilton, where we found T. Rudd, who had been through the streets with his usual message the same day; and (as we were told by some we met in the way) the people had abused him very much.

A little after we came to the town, the concern returned upon him, and reaching us, with several of the friends there, we went all into the streets, and Thomas Rudd proclaimed the same warning as before; upon which a multitude of people issued into the streets, and were indifferent sober, till the town officer came in a furious manner, and laid hold on Thomas Rudd, commanding him to go to his quarters, otherwise to the Tolbooth, their prison-house. And the rudeness of this man, in the presence of the multitude, so encouraged the baser sort, that they fell upon us, and inhumanly abused us; but especially Thomas Rudd: likewise the next morning, he and John Bowstead, being concerned to go through the same town again, were much abused; but some sober and well-minded persons cried out, "Shame on such proceedings," and used some endeavours to restrain them. The next morning he visited them in the like manner, and they were all still, and came not out any more to molest him: and then finding his concern in that place to be at an end, he departed in peace.

On the 21st of 1st month John Bowstead and I set forward on our return home, and on the 24th came to our several habitations; John to his family at Eglinby, in Cumberland, and I to my father's house at Justice Town, in the same county; being safely conducted and preserved through all dangers by the arm of the Lord.

About this time some of the parishioners of Scaleby, in Cumberland, were convinced of truth; and the priest

priest of the parish wrote a letter to them, containing several false accusations, and reproaches against friends, and the divine light we profess, which I answered.

The time of the county meeting for Cumberland being come, John Banks, that good old and valiant soldier and warrior for the truth on earth, offered his service as a representative from the county, to the yearly-meeting at London; and the meeting thought fit to name me for the other, though I did not deem myself qualified for the charge: but the meeting insisting upon it, by persuasions I yielded; and the rather, since I was to go with a companion so experienced and able in that service. We set forward on the 11th of the 3d month 1693, and by several stages and meetings came to Edmonton on the 28th, where we had the satisfaction to meet with our eminent and honourable friend, William Penn, which was the first time I saw him; and with whom, at that time, I contracted so near a friendship in the life of truth, and tendering love thereof in many tears, as never wore out till his dying day; and in which his memory still lives, as a sweet odour in my mind, as a faithful servant of the Lord; a man of God indeed in his time, of whom I shall have occasion to make further mention in the sequel.

On the 4th of the 4th month, we arrived in London; and the Lord gave his church and people, there assembled from all parts of the nation, and from Scotland, Ireland, &c. many comfortable seasons of his divine life-giving presence, to our great edification, confirmation, and rejoicing; where I became nearly acquainted with divers of the most eminent elders of that day, to my great satisfaction, and to theirs also; for mutual love and esteem was not wanting, but adorned our conversation, as in the most early and primitive times. In a particular manner, I became nearly united, with my much esteemed friend Thomas Wilson, who was an able and powerful minister of the word of life; and

and James Dickinson, his usual companion, being engaged another way, he accepted of my company in visiting the west. We left London on the 24th of 4th month, and that day had a meeting at Uxbridge; on the 26th at Wickham, and so by Oxford, where we had a comfortable open meeting: for though many of the collegians were there, who used to be rude in an extraordinary manner, yet, the invisible power of the word of life being over them at that time, they were quiet under the testimony thereof, in the authoritative ministry of Thomas Wilson, whose voice was as thunder from the clouds, and with words penetrating as lightning, saying, "It is the pride, luxury, and whoredoms of the priests now, as in the days of Eli the high-priest, which deprives them of the open vision of heaven." Upon which many of them were struck with amazement and surprise, and their eyes were filled with tears; so that several of the elder sort retired, but in a decent manner, as if to hide the effect of truth; which, if they had staid, could not have been concealed: but above all the rest, a young man, a very comely youth, who, by his appearance and behaviour, seemed to be the son of some noble person, was most deeply affected.

On the 28th we went to Coln Aldwins, and from thence on the 30th to Bristol. Here we staid till the 2d of 5th month, where the Lord gave us glorious times, in the sensible enjoyment of his divine and soul-melting presence, to our general and mutual consolation: for in those days, friends were near the Lord, and one another in him; and the canopy of his love was over us, and we rejoiced together therein, but with holy fear and trembling; and had often occasion to say, concerning the way of the Lord, as of old, "He maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire:" we had several meetings in the country, and returned to Bristol again, and on the 15th went to Bath, and were at their meeting. On the

the 24th we had a meeting at Thornbury, in Gloucestershire, and from thence proceeded homewards, through Worcester, &c. till we came to Penrith, from which my tender and fatherly companion went towards Hartley-Hall, and I returned to my father's house.

Now, as to my own condition and circumstances in this journey, in a general way. Before this time, I was favoured with the knowledge and enjoyment of the life of truth; I had delighted therein above all things, and thereby was reduced to a state of silence; not willing to interrupt the sweet and divine pleasure of his presence, by any needless and unprofitable talk upon mean and trifling matters, which I observed many were ensnared in; I was still so preserved as in a state of childhood in the truth, without the least apprehension of any censure: for though I usually sat with my companion in the meetings, and was much broken and tendered, from time to time, with an efflux of many tears, not of sorrow (which I had known long before) but of joy and satisfaction unspeakable, I never considered what any might think of me, as to the cause of my weeping; or of any expectation they might have of my appearance in a publick ministry, often, if not always, accompanied with such indications in the beginning of that concern.

And, though I knew the Lord had called, and begun such a work in me, yet I had never met with any thing so great a cross to my natural disposition, as appearing in publick; and, if I might have continued to enjoy the good presence of the Lord any other way, or on any other terms, I had never submitted to it: but, those divine wages I could not live without; the countenance of the Lord was become my all, and too dear to part with; and therefore at length I yielded, without any manner of human considerations or views. But it is not to be forgot, that from the last time of our leaving Bristol, every stage we journeyed northward, my mind became darker and darker, and the

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thoughts.

thoughts of returning to my father's house became burdensome to me : and before I got thither, I was greatly clouded, as if a thick fog of darkness came over my mind : and then I mourned, looking back to times past, recounting every step, and the several views and openings of the things of God and his counsel, which I had seen and enjoyed in the several meetings in this journey ; and how the Lord, who is a spirit, exhibits the matters and things of his kingdom in the pure mind, which is spiritual, and impresses it with a necessity of uttering them : qualifying and assisting the instrument which he chooses, to bring them forth in an apt and intelligible manner, for the help, information, and consolation, of those who hear and believe ; whether in doctrine, exposition of the Holy Scriptures, reproof, instruction in morals, or whatsoever tends to the conviction of unbelievers, confirmation of the unstable, edification of the church, and body of Christ, and perfecting the sanctified in him.

And being fully convinced I had fallen short of my duty, by neglecting to utter the first sentences which had been impressed upon my mind in several meetings, not thinking them of sufficient weight and importance for publick service ; and now plainly perceiving, that through want of obedience, in that which was at first required, I had been precluded from any further progress ; and in consequence of my disobedience, having been deprived of all sense of the divine presence for many days, and destitute of all comfort, save a little secret hope, that the Lord might mercifully return, I resolved, that if it might so please him, I would then obey ; and deeply mourning for some weeks, till all hope was near vanishing ; the heavens became as brass, and shut up as with bars of iron ; and nothing remained but a bare remembrance of former enjoyments, which nothing can give, restore, or continue, but the divine essential truth himself, by his own presence and power.

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But notwithstanding all this, when the Lord did again unexpectedly appear, as divine love and light in my mind, and new matter presented in my understanding, I found that state so comfortable and pleasing, that I thought nothing could be added to my enjoyment by uttering it in words, while in that condition; and so let the proper time of moving therewith slip over: and the duty being anew neglected, I again fell short of a settlement in the divine presence; and when that was withdrawn, condemnation only remained, as due to my fresh disobedience and neglect; and then I was surrounded again with black horror and despair, as if that had been the last call of the Lord, and latest offers of divine peace and salvation; and my soul mourned again unspeakably: and then I understood the language of the apostle Paul, when he said, *Wo is unto me if I preach not the gospel.*

And while I was in this condition, my much esteemed friend, Thomas Wilson, imparted to me his intention of visiting the churches in Ireland, desiring my company; but having so thick a cloud over my mind, and little love then appearing in me, either to him, or any other particular, or to mankind in general, I did not think myself in a condition for such an undertaking, and so declined it.

But though this cloud remained over me for a time, laying me under a necessity to stand still, to see what the Lord would please to do; yet his never-failing goodness and mercy did not finally leave me, but remained as withdrawn behind the thick veil, hid from me only for a season; for in a meeting at Kirklington in Cumberland on a first day some weeks after, the Lord returned in peace and reconciliation, and his divine countenance shined again upon me; whereby I was enabled to resolve, that if the Lord moved any thing then, as in times past, I would obey.

Soon after that resolution was firmly settled in my mind, sprang therein these words: *It is a good day unto all*

all those that obey the voice of the Lord : and as they settled in my mind with the presence of the Lord remaining, I stood up and uttered them in his fear, with a voice just so audible, as that the meeting generally heard : and no sooner were the words uttered, than my soul was increased in joy unspeakable, which was followed with an efflux of a flood of tears from that root ; and the meeting in general was immediately affected the same way, as a seal of the work of the Lord thus brought forth in me ; and all were silent under the canopy of the divine presence for some time. At length John Bowstead (having had a particular concern to come to that meeting, about eight miles) stood up in testimony to the truth of what I had uttered, making it the substance of what he said, to general edification ; and as a father, taking the weak by the hand, and helping forward in that exercise, in which I had been long waited for, and expected by friends in general in those parts ; and the Lord favoured us with the enjoyment of his divine presence that day. After the meeting was over I returned to my father's house, restored to a sense of the goodness of the Lord ; and thenceforward, from time to time, appeared in a few words in meetings, as the Lord made way, and gave matter, strength and utterance ; but was not forward to visit any other meeting, till I began to be a little shut up there ; and then I waited on the Lord, to know the drawings of his love to some other places, in which I was favoured through his divine goodness ; and yet did not make haste, but was kept under a slow, gentle, and gradual progress.

And now a temptation of another kind began to interrupt me ; for, having had a reputation in that country of an understanding at least equal to my education and years, when my acquaintance and others heard of my appearance in a publick ministry, they expected something more from me than from some others, of whom they had not conceived the like opinion ; and
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I, knowing the way of truth with me was not in the wisdom and multiplicity of words, but in its own virtue and simplicity, and in a few sentences only, was not willing of myself to yield up my own imaginary honour on that account, and be exposed as a fool in their way of judging; which affected me so, as that I became backward to appear when such were present, and sometimes neglected the proper times of the movings of the Lord in this calling: by which I retarded my growth therein, and was in danger of greater loss that way. But the Lord is just and merciful; and though he charged it as a failure, yet, by degrees, he helped me forward, though it was a long time before I got over it; for it laid sometimes as a block in my way for many years after, remaining the unmoved cause of many a heavy load; which none knew, or could ease me of, but the Lord alone; and, if he had not extended mercy, I had yet been undone for ever.

After this, my uneasiness in my father's house increasing, I took an occasion one morning to remind him of the change of his countenance and behaviour towards me, and of the many hints and oblique intimations he had thought fit to give concerning my way of living in the world (as if I was like to be chargeable to him) by my not following the practice of the law into which I had been initiated, but had now declined it. I told him, that he could not charge me with any act of disobedience to him from my childhood, or the neglect of any duty, save now at last my embracing the truth of God, as my only way to salvation; in which case he had no right to command or hinder, but rather to consider his own ways and state, and how far just and pleasing in the sight of God; to whom I must answer for myself, where he could not for me: and then added, that I intended to leave his house in a short time, and make him easy on that account.

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This touched my dear father so near, that he could not bear it, but wept abundantly; confessing that I had ever been a dutiful child to him, and had never disoblged him, save in that thing only, nor did he begrudge any thing in his power to do for me; but as he had brought me up to the law so far, he thought it might have been a way of living in the world, both plentiful and reputable, but could not now see any reasonable means of a competent subsistence, with that reputation which my circumstances required, after the appearance I had begun to make among mankind, before I espoused those principles I now seemed too much attached to. However, he made me this proposal, as the best he could then think of, viz. That I should manage his estate to the best advantage I could, and take all the incomes to myself, save a reputable subsistence to himself, and my mother-in-law, his wife. To this I returned him my dutiful acknowledgment, but told him it was now too late; I was fixed in another resolution, under a view of a different nature, and could not subject myself to such a confinement, if he would, on such terms, give me his whole estate for ever; but withal assured him, that I did not leave him under any discontent, or resentment of any behaviour he had used towards me, which he had a right to do, according to his views and meaning; but that I had an inducement for my departure, which probably he could not rightly apprehend, or believe, if I should declare it; which was no other, in my own concealed mind, than more perfect liberty to serve the Lord, and his people, in the way of the calling of God, which was gradually increasing at that time upon me; and I was now grown a little stronger in the ministry, and more experienced in the exercise of the gift of God therein.

Not long after this, Aaron Atkinson acquainted me with his concern to visit friends in some South and West

West parts of England; and as we had, from the time of my joining with friends, been very intimate, and near in the truth and love of it, I was also willing to travel in the same way; but he being ready sooner than I could be, went before up to London, where he staid for me; and on the 22d of 11th month 1694, I took leave of my father and his family, and set forward for London, taking some meetings by the way, as they happened of course to fall out; for I did not think proper to appoint any, my thoughts of my own ministry being very low; yet the Lord favoured me with his goodness and encouraging presence, and made way for me every where, and gave me several open and comfortable times with friends in my journey, particularly at Liecester, though altogether a stranger as to outward acquaintance with any one.

On the 2d of 12th month, I arrived at London, where at that time was a great body of friends, well established in the truth, and many meetings, and a good number of able ministers among them; as W. Penn, G. Whitehead, S. Waldenfield, W. Bingly, J. Vaughton, J. Field, F. Stamper, J. Bowater, Ja. Park, and many others of the younger sort.

I was kept very low in my mind, and circumspect, having no courage of my own to appear in publick: but the Lord, knowing my weakness, integrity and simplicity, supported my mind; and that which added much to my encouragement was, the fatherly care and behaviour of the ministers in general, but especially of that able minister of the gospel W. Penn.

In this city I remained with my companion, in the service of truth and friends, according to our several measures and attainments, until the 30th of 12th month; and that day we had a meeting at Wands-worth, the next day at Kingston, and from thence went to divers other places, and had meetings, till we came to Bristol, on the 12th of 1st month 1695. From thence we went into some adjacent counties, and

and had meetings, and on the 22d of 2d month returned to Bristol, where, lodging at our ancient friend Richard Snead's, one morning the canopy of the divine presence came over us in the family, and brought us into right silence for a time; and then the Holy Spirit of prayer and supplication came upon us: and whilst we were in that exercise, W. Penn came into the room, and joined with us; and, after him, that ancient and eminent minister of the Lord Jesus, Roger Haydock, and some others following them, were favoured with the same visitation and good presence of the Lord our God, and the enjoyment of him together in the beloved, to our great refreshment and consolation. This good season being over for the time, we had sweet and agreeable unity and conversation together; which proved a great strength and encouragement to my companion and me, to be thus favoured in the sight of those elders; who, by their free and fatherly behaviour towards us then, and from that time forward, declared a firm and settled friendship in the truth, which never waxed old, or decayed.

On the 26th we were at the meeting at Marshfield, and from thence proceeded on our journey, having meetings, till we came to London, on the 8th of 3d month.

In this journey, though we were not without temptations and exercises of divers kinds, yet the Lord was near to preserve us; and, through his divine grace, gave us many open, comfortable, and edifying times, in the assemblies of his people; and in divers families, as also in conversation; for the fear of the Lord was over us, and we did not delight in vain and unprofitable talk, but were kept solid; but not cast down, or unconvertible.

At London we parted; Aaron went back into Cumberland, and I remained in the city, and entered into business there for my necessary subsistence; for my father had not bestowed any thing upon me at parting.

Friends

Friends in London knowing my intention of settling there (at least for some time) and that I desired to be employed in conveyancing, drawing of settlements, and other publick writings of all sorts, as occasion might offer; which was a business I was acquainted with, and also the least confining of any I could think of, and was fitted for; this succeeded so well, by the blessing of God, that, in a short time, I had more business than I could do myself; and soon came into a reputable and plentiful way of living; for which I was truly thankful to the Lord, who thus provided for me in a way I had not foreseen; but had fully trusted in him, that I should not want, though without any particular prospect how I should be supported when I left my father's house to follow the Lord more fully, and enjoy his divine peace, than I found I could do there.

I kept close to meetings and to business, in their proper vicissitudes; and the countenance of the Lord was with me. About this time George Keith, that apostate from the truth of God, once made known to him, made great disturbances in and about London, as he had done before in divers parts of America; endeavouring to impose some unprofitable, hurtful, and false notions of his own and others upon friends, contending fiercely about them; and had also obtained some regard from envious and prejudiced persons of divers sects and societies.

In 1696 I was concerned in the love of truth, to visit the meetings in a general way, in the north of England, and likewise in Scotland; and in discharge of that duty, set forward from London on the 6th or 7th of 5th month, accompanied by Henry Atkinson, who was at that time a very tender and hopeful young man, but had not appeared in a publick ministry. We went by Watford; where I made a visit to the Countess of Carlisle (intending to have seen the Earl, but he was gone to London) and she received me with re-

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spect,

spect, none being present but Helen Fairly, who had been her gent ewoman; but having been lately convinced, another was then in her place. The Countess asked me divers questions concerning the way of truth, as professed by us; of the sacraments, commonly so called, and of women's preaching; to which I answered in much plainness, and I believe to her satisfaction; viz.

“ As to the two sacraments; the national church
“ owns, That a sacrament is an outward and visible
“ sign of an inward and spiritual grace; and if it is a
“ sign, it cannot be the thing signified. That grace,
“ of which those symbols are called signs, hath appear-
“ ed, and doth appear unto all men; as well where
“ those signs are used, as where they are not used, or
“ heard of; so that there can be no advantage in the
“ use of such signs, but in that grace, which through
“ Christ is given of the Father unto all men, being a
“ divine active principle and power; illuminating, in-
“ structing, and guiding the minds of all that believe
“ therein, into all truth necessary for the salvation of
“ the soul. And the great God, Creator of heaven
“ and earth, is no respecter of persons, in his dispen-
“ sations of grace to the children of men; but gives
“ more or less, as it pleases him, but to every one
“ that which is sufficient; and hath no regard or dis-
“ regard therein to those distinctions, formed and im-
“ posed by mortals, one upon another in this world;
“ so that, high and low, rich and poor, noble and ig-
“ noble, have all grace sufficient for their salvation, if
“ they believe therein, and obey; as it is written, *By*
“ *grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of your-*
“ *selves, it is the gift of God.* Yet you who are great
“ in this world, are in most danger, because of the
“ cares, riches, pleasures, honours, and glory of it:
“ for as the Most High regardeth none of these things,
“ but considers you only as others of mankind; these
“ high stations and circumstances delude your hearts
“ by

“ by their glittering delights, and betray you into a
 “ forgetfulness of God your Creator, and a neglect of
 “ the gift of his grace which is in you, though the
 “ Lord is not wanting to you in his kind and merciful
 “ admonitions and reproofs in your minds : and though
 “ you are sometimes brought thereby into inward and
 “ deep considerations of your ways, your latter end,
 “ and a future state, as others are ; yet you are under
 “ great disadvantages through the eminence of your
 “ station and circumstances in the world, being there-
 “ by placed out of the reach of the conversation and
 “ information of the true and sincere ministers of the
 “ Lord Jesus, who, as they love you truly, through
 “ his grace would deal plainly, yet discreetly with
 “ you, for the sake and redemption of your precious
 “ souls, without any fallacy, or mean mercenary end,
 “ or other terrene view. But it is lamentable to see
 “ and consider, that when the grace of God, as it is
 “ the divine light of his presence through the Lord
 “ Jesus Christ, letteth you see yourselves, and the er-
 “ ror of your ways, and brings remorse over you, and
 “ a secret humiliation ~~and~~ sadness into your minds,
 “ appearing sometimes in your aspects and behaviour ;
 “ when none of your pastimes, enjoyments, or diver-
 “ sions, have any relish, or afford any satisfaction at
 “ all : then instead of the counsel and help of such as
 “ have known this word of reproof, and walked in the
 “ path of life eternal, to direct you in the way which
 “ leads to the kingdom of God, and to that eternal
 “ and unspeakable glory, the beatifick vision of his
 “ countenance, which never ends, as all this world,
 “ and the glory and pleasures of it do, even in a mo-
 “ ment, and are known no more ; you have two sorts
 “ of men near you, by whose ignorance, self views,
 “ and flattery, you are in more danger of everlasting
 “ ruin than those in lower stations. For, in times of
 “ humiliation, when you are fittest for the teachings
 “ of God, as it is written, *The humble he will teach,*
 “ and

“ *and the meek he will guide in judgment*; then your
 “ priests say, you are melancholy; a ball, or other
 “ unchristian-like diversion, must be promoted, and
 “ your physicians must give physick to your bodies;
 “ when, alas! the sickness is in the soul, and they
 “ know it not, and can never be cured, but by the
 “ physician of value, the High Priest of God, and Sa-
 “ viour of the soul, who first slays in it the vain and
 “ sinful life of the world, in which all the evils thereof
 “ do dwell, and then breathes into it life eternal, the
 “ life of Jesus the Son of God, who never fell.

“ And as to women’s preaching, it ought to be im-
 “ partially observed, that the intellectual powers be-
 “ ing alike common to male and female, and the nature
 “ of the mind the same in both, consequently suscepti-
 “ ble of the like and same impressions. And accord-
 “ ingly, the Almighty, pointing at the dispensation of
 “ the gospel, by Joel the prophet, saith, *I will pour out*
 “ *my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daugh-*
 “ *ters shall prophesy.* Again, *Upon the servants and*
 “ *upon the handmaids, in those days will I pour out my*
 “ *Spirit.* And by the word prophecy is understood
 “ by all interpreters, preaching the gospel; and this
 “ prophecy took place in the church of Christ at the
 “ coming of the Holy Ghost (or Christ in Spirit at
 “ Jerusalem at the time of Pentecost): where, if no
 “ woman spake (though we have no express account
 “ that any did) the apostle Peter did not apply that
 “ text properly, and without exception; which we are
 “ not to suppose.

“ I conclude therefore, with truth, that women
 “ both may and ought to preach, under the gospel
 “ dispensation, when the Spirit of the Lord is upon
 “ them, and they are thereunto called, and qualified
 “ thereby; and many such we have now among us,
 “ very acceptable in their ministry: so that we know
 “ by experience, that they are sent of God, accord-
 “ ing to the various degrees of their gifts, as well
 “ as

"as the men, and receive them accordingly in the
"Lord."

She heard what I said with candour and patience, and I took leave of her with great satisfaction of mind. And this visit being over, I returned to the house of our friend Alice Hayes; where I related the passage, with other circumstances here omitted, to several friends there at that time, which well affected them; and we were favoured with the divine presence on the occasion, and had a comfortable time together in prayer: after which we went to Albans, where we had appointed a meeting that afternoon. After which we went to Hartford, from thence to Hare-street, and being at the house of John Etteridge, a concern came upon our minds, and he being much spent in a consumption, uttered a few sentences, "concerning a day
"coming on apace, wherein the Lord would gather
"many as from the four winds, a numberless num-
"ber, to sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob
"in the kingdom of God, in divine rest and peace." After prayer, we departed greatly comforted; as also were the friends of the family.

On the 12th, being first day of the week, we were at Cambridge, and the meeting was peaceable. From thence went by Huntingdon, Stilton, Warnsford, to Nottingham; and on the 15th to Balborough-hall, and lodged with Sir John Rhodes, Baronet, who, being convinced of truth very young, embraced the same under the cross, forsaking all the honour of this world, and the friendship of it, for that honour which is of God only, and the friendship and fellowship of the faithful and sanctified in Christ, of whom he is beloved and honoured in the truth, as worthy.

Thence we went to Sheffield, and by several stages into Cumberland, and on the 5th of 6th month were at the Border meeting. On the 7th we began our journey into Scotland; were at Kelso, Edinburgh, and on the 14th at the widow Barclay's at Urie;

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from thence went to Inverary, Kilmuck, and Aberdeen, and had meetings in a good degree to satisfaction.

On the 24th returned to Urie, where we staid till the 26th, and had then a meeting, which was heavy for some time, but ended in a more lively state; for which we were thankful, and the next morning we had a meeting in the family, where we were comforted together, in the springing in of the love of our heavenly Father; and it was much to our satisfaction to find his divine presence so near them, not only them, but also on the 6th and 7th days following: for they have a meeting every morning among themselves.

On the 29th we went to William Napier's; and next day, being the first of the week, were at the meetings at Montrose; in the afternoon meeting several people came in, and I said many things to them appertaining to salvation; but they did not seem to be weary or heavy laden, or fit for the cross of Christ; nor sensible of any want.

We went from hence to Kennoway, and the next morning, being 1st day of the 7th month, to Kinghorn, in order to pass over to Leith, where we found a ferry-boat ready to put off from the shore, in which were several passengers, and among the rest an episcopal priest: and, as soon as he perceived what we were, he fell into a rage, and endeavoured to keep us out of the vessel, and disappoint us of our passage; which he seemed more bold in, under the countenance of a young gentleman in the boat; but I soon gave him to understand we were not to be imposed upon in that point: and, insisting on our passage, required the boatman to take in our horses; and we stepped in after them; and then his spirit fell, when he saw our resolution and management, and that the gentleman did not oppose us: and the priest becoming more calm, so did the wind, which had retarded our passage.

After

After a while, perceiving the spirit of the man to be overcome and quieted, I spake to him concerning his passions, and enmity against us without any cause; putting him in mind how inconsistent such a behaviour is with Christianity, of which I supposed him to be a professor, if not a professed teacher: and that religion requires all the professors of it to be kind to strangers: and that though he was equally a stranger to us, as we to him, yet since we were strangers in his native country, that character belonged more properly to us. This calm reasoning with him, in the grace of God, had so good an effect, that he confessed his fault, and desired it might be passed by; which was freely granted: and then, as we stood together by the side of the vessel, he became very kind and familiar, and told me he was, by profession, an episcopal minister, but displaced, and deprived of his living by the Presbyterians at the Revolution.

Then I informed him, that I had been of the same profession of religion; that my nearest relations were so still, and my elder brother a dean of the episcopal church; the manner of my own education; my leaving the profession of the law, as not consisting with the calling of God in the concern I was then about; and yet, casting myself on his Providence, I wanted nothing. After which I advised him, that since in the course of Providence he was divested of his bread, in the way he had chosen for himself, he had best now to lean upon the arm of the Lord for his subsistence, in a way which might be shewn him, in some honest employment, in case he should look no more back to his former course or dependance: and all I said he heard with temper; and said, he believed I wished him well therein. After this, I had some conversation with the young gentleman, and they both continued very sociable till we went on shore, when parting with them in friendship, we went forward to Edinburgh.

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Here we rested, and after visiting friends in their houses on the sixth and seventh days preceding, were at the meetings on first day; in which many of the better sort were very sober and attentive.

On the 7th we went to Linlithgow, and the next morning the Lord favoured us with his heart-tendering presence, with a few of his gathered people there. On the 11th we had a meeting at Glasgow; where came a great many collegians, along with a mob of other people; they were very rude, both in words and actions. But being reprov'd at that time in the word of life, they were a little more sober for a while; but growing rude again, a soldier, who had been in the meeting most of the time, reprehended them sharply, saying, "That if any thing was said they did not like, they might let it alone; but if it was right, why did they not receive it?"

They said nothing in answer to the soldier, neither to us did they make any objection: and towards the conclusion of the meeting, my companion expressed some edifying matters, in great humility and tenderness, that was acceptable to the sensible part; which was the second time he had appeared that way; and, after all the rude endeavours to disturb us, the meeting ended in divine peace, and in a sense of the love and goodness of the Lord; which is a present as well as future reward, far exceeding all that can be suffered for it in this life. On the 12th, being the sixth of the week, we went to Askeen, to our friend William Simson's, where we had a very hard meeting; and the next morning went back to Glasgow, where we staid till the first day, and then had two very hard meetings: for though those who came to the meetings were outwardly civil, yet so strong was the power of darkness, and so great the enmity against the life of truth, that we were that night greatly loaden in our spirits, and rested but little.

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The next morning we went to Hamilton, and in the evening had a meeting there, which was very poor and low, for things were then in a declining condition at that place; from whence we set forward on the 16th for Cumberland, where we arrived on the 18th following, in good health, through the mercy and goodness of the Lord.

In this journey through Scotland we were presented, in several places, with instances of the irreligion and cruelty of the Presbyterians of that nation; which demonstrated them to be of the same persecuting spirit of their brethren in * New-England.

Having finished these remarks on our journey in Scotland, I return to Cumberland; where, having visited most of the meetings, in the space of about two months, we set forward from thence on the 7th of 10th month, and that evening went to Jacob Moor's, at Welgill in Alston Moor; a wild mountainous country, and in a time of hard frost and deep snow. On the 8th we were favoured of the Lord with a very open and comfortable meeting, the Lord's tendering presence being with us; and, after the meeting, we went about three miles further to West Alandale,

* Between the years 1656 and 1661, a violent and merciless persecution was exercised by the Presbyterian government in New-England. Several laws and declarations being published, with several penalties annexed, against any Quakers being allowed to land or live within that colony; in consequence of which, the rage of blind zeal, and furious bigotry, rose as high as in the worst and darkest times; so that a great number of innocent and peaceful persons were cruelly imprisoned, and barbarously used, without any regard either to sex or age: many were starved in gaols, and inhumanly beat and whipped with knotted cords, and pitched ropes; others suffered by grievous fines, confiscations, and loss of ears; and three persons viz. William Robertson, Marmaduke Stevenson and Mary Dyer, were executed on the gallows in 1659: and William Ledra in 1661: none of which appeared guilty of any fault, but the exercise of their religious duties. Where this hot persecution would have ended is unknown, had not King Charles II. interposed his royal authority and put an end to it by his letter, dated at Whitehall the 9th of September 1661.

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where in the evening came to us several friends, and, among others, our ancient friend Cuthbert Featherstone. And as we were conversing together in that friendship which the Lord begets in those who are his, he drew our minds under the canopy of divine silence, in which remaining for a time, we had a heavenly visitation of his soul-melting goodness together; and I observing the tears to trickle down from the eyes of our ancient friend upon his clothes, was greatly affected with love towards him from the same cause; and had this hope and confidence upon that occasion, that as I then observed the Lord was as near his children in old age, who had served him faithfully from the time of their visitation, as when he first revealed himself through his Son the Lord Jesus, in their own hearts; so he would be with me also in advanced years, if I proved faithful and true to the Lord, and attained to that degree.

This encouragement, in the beginning of our journey, by that tender season in the presence of the Lord, is not to be forgotten, but had in lasting remembrance, to the praise of the Lord our God, the giver of every good and perfect gift, and the life and length of the days of his redeemed and saved people. On the 9th we went to East Alandale, and the next day to Steele, where we met with our friend Archibald Gillespie, who had been my school-fellow when we were boys, and had embraced the Presbyterian notions in the time of his youth; but, being visited of the Lord, had obeyed from the heart, and was become a sincere and valuable friend, adorning his profession by an innocent and upright life and conversation. He went with us, about thirteen miles, to Benfield Side; and the next evening had a meeting at Iviston, which was but dull and cloudy; but we had learned in some measure, not only how to abound, but also how to be content and subject under a lesser degree: and to do the harder,

harder, as well as the more easy, part of the service of the Lord, our good and righteous Master.

On the 12th we went to Newcastle, and were at the meeting there next day; and Sir Thomas Liddel, of Ravensworth Castle, having taken notice of me, on some occasion, at his house, before I frequented the meetings of friends; and hearing of my present profession, and being a person of great civility and candour, he had desired a friend of Newcastle to invite me to Ravensworth to dine with him, when at any time I might happen to come that way; which the friend informing me of, I went accordingly, accompanied by him and another, and we were kindly and respectfully received by him and his son, with whom we had much conversation, in a very friendly manner, till near night. Among other things he told us, "He
" had a great respect for us as a people, and liked our
" way, being sensible of that principle of divine light
" and truth we professed; but he commonly went to
" the Presbyterian meeting: and then he asked me,
" whether a man might not serve and worship God
" in his mind, among any sort of people, though he
" might differ from them in his sentiments in some
" points, and in his secret judgment like the way of
" some other people better." Thus, perceiving he was convinced of the way of truth in his understanding, and that he stumbled at the cross, and the meanness of the appearance of friends, I answered, "That
" the Lord Jesus Christ said, *Whosoever shall deny me*
" *before men, him also will I deny before my Father and*
" *the holy angels*: and, the apostle also saith, *With the*
" *heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the*
" *mouth confession is made unto salvation.*"

They heard me with patience; but what I said gave no countenance to the way in which this great man had chosen to conceal himself, and his real sentiments, from the world: but I found it to be my place and duty to be plain with him, according to all that was presented

presented in my mind on that occasion, that I might keep my own peace which remained in me. He told me he had read some of William Penn's Works, and would willingly ride an hundred miles to see him. In the evening, when we inclined to return to Newcastle, he took his horse, and accompanied us till we came near the town, and we parted in free and open friendship.

On the 16th of the 10th month, we had a meeting at Shields, 17th at Sunderland, and so on to York, Lincoln, Spalding, Lynn, Edmondsbury, and Colchester. From hence to Kelvedon, and on the 28th we returned to London with thankful hearts, and acknowledgments to the Lord our God, who, by the hand of his good Providence, preserved us in this journey through many exercises and dangers, both of body and mind, to his own high praise; to whom be dominion, glory and thanks, now and for ever.

Continuing in London, it happened that Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy, was there, and Gilbert Mollison (Robert Barclay's wife's brother) having heard that a kinsman of his was in the Czar's service; and being desirous to increase the knowledge of the truth, requested me to go with him, in quest of his kinsman, to the Czar's residence, a large house at the bottom of York-buildings; intending at the same time to present some books, which might fall under the Czar's notice. When we came to the place, Gilbert inquired of the porter after his cousin, but could not hear any thing of him in the lower apartments, but was desired to stay till further inquiry was made in the house; and a servant went up stairs to that end, and when returned, invited us up. The head of the staircase on the first floor brought us to the entrance of a long passage, which went through the middle of the house, and there stood a single man at a large window at the further end, to whom we were directed for intelligence: and, as we passed along, we observed two tall

tall men walking in a large room on the right hand, but we did not stop to look at them; for supposing one of them to be the Czar, of whom I had heard that he was not willing to be looked upon, and, careful not to offend him, we behaved with caution, and went directly to the person standing at the window, of whom G. Mollison inquired after his kinsman, and he told us such a person had been in the Czar's service, but was dead.

In the mean time came the Czar, and the other to us; the Czar spoke something to the person with whom we had conversed, which we did not understand: upon which he asked us, Why do you not pay respect to great persons, when you are in their presence? I answered, "So we do, especially to kings and princes; for though we have laid aside, and decline all vain and empty shows of respect and duty, and flattering titles, whereby they are generally deceived by insincere and designing men, who seem to admire them for their own ends; yet we yield all due and sincere respect and duty to such, and all in authority under them, by giving ready obedience to all their lawful commands; but when at any time any of them, either through tyranny or ignorance, or ill counsel, happens to command any thing contrary to our duty to the Almighty, then we offer our prayers and tears to God, and humble addresses unto such rulers, that their understandings may be opened, and their minds changed towards us."

The Czar gave no reply to this, but talked with his interpreter again, who then asked, "Of what use can you be in any kingdom or government, seeing you will not bear arms, and fight?"

To this I replied, "That many of us had borne arms in times past, and been in many battles, and fought with courage, and thought it lawful, and a duty then, in days of ignorance; and I myself had worn a sword, and other arms, and knew how to

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" use

“ use them ; but when it pleased God to reveal in our
 “ hearts the life and power of Jesus Christ, his Son,
 “ our Lord, who is the Prince of Righteousness and
 “ Peace, whose commandment is love ; we were then
 “ reconciled unto God, one unto another, unto our
 “ enemies, and unto all men. And he that command-
 “ ed that we should love our enemies, hath left us no
 “ right to fight and destroy, but to convert them. And
 “ yet we are of use, and helpful in any kingdom or
 “ government ; for the principle of our religion pro-
 “ hibits idleness, and excites to industry : as it is writ-
 “ ten, *They shall beat their swords into plough shares, and*
 “ *their spears into pruning hooks :* and we being hus-
 “ bandmen, concerned in all manner of husbandry
 “ and improvements, as likewise in manufactory and
 “ merchandizing, with the blessing of heaven upon
 “ our labours, do not want, but rather abound. And
 “ though we are prohibited arms and fighting, as in-
 “ consistent (we think) with the rules of the gospel of
 “ Christ ; yet we can and do, by his example, readily
 “ and chearfully pay unto every government, in every
 “ form, where we happen to be subjects, such sums
 “ and assessments as are required of us by the respec-
 “ tive laws under which we live.”

Upon which the Czar took several turns in the pas-
 sage, and then came and looked stedfastly upon us,
 though we did not seem to mind him, or to know that
 it was he. Then I said to the interpreter, “ That we
 “ understood there was a person of great distinction
 “ in that place, a stranger, very inspectious into the
 “ state of affairs and things in general ; and, no doubt,
 “ might be also inquisitive into the state of religion ;
 “ and we, being a people differing in some points from
 “ all others, and so much misunderstood and misre-
 “ presented in our own country, that even our neigh-
 “ bours themselves did not know us : lest that great
 “ prince should be misinformed and imposed on con-
 “ cerning us and our religion, we had brought him
 “ some

"some books, dedicated to the sovereign of our native country; by which he might see a full account of our principles."

We then produced two of the Apologies in Latin; upon which the Czar talked again with the interpreter, who asked us, "Were not these books writ by a Jesuit? It is said there are Jesuits among you." To which G. Mollison replied, "That is a calumny, and proves the necessity of our endeavours in that respect at this time. We have no Jesuits among us; our religion and theirs differ very widely. This book was wrote by a near relation of mine, who was not a Jesuit, but sincerely of those principles asserted and maintained in the book, as our whole community is."

Then the Czar and interpreter talked together, after which the latter took some gold out of his pocket, and offered us for the books. But I told them, "we were no such men, as to want any thing for the books, or otherwise; they were a present to that great prince, and given freely: and all that we desired was, that they might be acceptable; and that in case any of our friends should at any time hereafter come into his country, and preach those principles contained in the books, and if they should meet with opposition, and be persecuted by any officers or persons in power under him for the same, he would please to afford them protection and relief." Then they talked together again, and the interpreter kept the books, and the Czar and Prince Menzicoff (whom I supposed the other to be) retired into the room from whence they came.

They being gone, we asked the interpreter, "If that was the Czar?" He said, he was. Then we inquired if he had told him the substance of what we had said? and he said he had. He told us the Czar did not understand the Latin tongue, but only his own language, and High Dutch. Then G. Mollison gave one

one of the Apologies to the interpreter (for he had several with him) and so we departed in peace and satisfaction.

After this, he was at several of our meetings, and W. Penn, G. Whitehead, and some other friends waited on him privately, and presented him with more of the same books.

During my continuance in London, I employed myself in conveyancing, and the like; and having more business than I could manage alone, I had several clerks or apprentices offered, both in London, and from the North, and considerable sums of money with them; but could not accept of any, lest it should prove too great a confinement from my calling in the truth. For though I was willing to take pains for my necessary support, and the charges of my travels, yet I suffered much in my mind by reason of confinement, since the calling of God cannot be rightly and fully answered by any one, too much entangled with other concerns, though lawful and gainful, and to the view of reason needful.

I staid here attending the city meetings, and sometimes visiting those of the neighbourhood in the country, until the year 1698, when having a letter from W. Penn, then at Bristol, desiring me to meet him, and John Everot, at Holyhead in Wales, at a certain day, in order to go for Ireland, I accordingly set forward from London on the 28th of 2d month, and went by way of Coventry, Litchfield, &c. to Aberconway in Wales, where I met with my friends aforesaid; and from thence we went the next day to Holyhead; and the day after, about two in the afternoon, we set sail and arrived in Dublin Bay in about twenty-four hours; for which we were thankful. On the 6th of 3d month we went to Dublin, and on the 8th, being the first day of the week, was the half year meeting there; where we were greatly comforted, not only in the enjoyment of the blessed presence of the
Lord,

Lord, but also in observing the unity, mildness, and order, which appeared among friends in the management of the affairs of the church on that occasion.

Great was the resort of people of all ranks, qualities, and professions, to our meetings, chiefly on account of our friend William Penn, who was furnished by the truth with matter to answer their expectations. Many of the clergy were there; and the people, with one voice, spake well of what they heard: the dean of Derry was one, who, being there several times, was asked by his bishop, whether he had heard any thing but blasphemy and nonsense; and whether he took off his hat in time of prayer to join with us? He answered, "that he heard no blasphemy nor nonsense, "but the everlasting truth; and did not only take off "his hat at prayer, but his heart said amen to what "he heard;" yet he proved like the stony ground, and brought forth no fruit, as to outward profession. He said, "Though he could die for the principles of "religion the Quakers professed; yet, to lose his living and character for some incidents they are tenacious of, as plain language, plain habits, and other "distinguishing particularities, he did not think these "of sufficient weight, or reasonable;" and so came no further, but proved unfaithful in the day of small things.

Many, I believe, were touched by the virtue of truth, especially through the ministry of William Penn, upon whom were the eyes of the people in a more particular manner; and John Everot had also good service: but justly preferring them before myself, my spirit was weakened by bearing too much, and I became very uneasy; but they taking a turn into the country about Wicklow for some days, I had opportunity at Dublin to clear my mind to friends and others in several meetings. William Penn returning to Dublin, we went thence on the 27th of the 3d month towards the county of Wexford to Lambstown,

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where

where we wrote the following epistle to the yearly meeting at London, viz. -

“ DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

“ It is not the least of our exercises, that we are
“ thus far outwardly separated from you at this time
“ of our holy and blessed solemnity ; but because we
“ have great reason to believe it is in the will of God,
“ we humbly submit to his ordering hand ; and, with
“ open arms of deep and tender love, embrace you our
“ brethren, who are given up to serve the Lord in your
“ generation, and that have long preferred Jerusalem,
“ and the peace and prosperity of her borders, above
“ your chiefest joy. The salutation of our endeared
“ brotherly love in Christ Jesus is unto you ; desiring
“ that he may richly appear among you in power, wis-
“ dom and love ; to guide your judgments, and influ-
“ ence your spirits, in this weighty assembly, that so
“ nothing may appear or have place among you, but
“ what singly seeks the honour of the Lord, the ex-
“ altation of his truth, and the peace and edification
“ of his heritage. For this, brethren, you and we
“ know, has been the aim, end, and practice of those,
“ whom the Lord hath made willing to forsake, and
“ give up all for his name's sake ; and, through various
“ exercises and tribulations, yea, in the way of the
“ daily cross, and through the fight and baptism of
“ manifold afflictions, to have their conversation and
“ sojourning here below upon the earth in fear and
“ love, looking for their reward in the heavens, that
“ shall never pass away ; who have not been lifted up
“ by good report, nor cast down by evil report, from
“ their love to the Lord, and his precious truth ; but
“ held on their way ; and whose hands being clean of
“ evil things towards all men, have waxed stronger
“ and stronger in the Lord : wherefore, dear brethren,
“ let us also be found in the same steps, and walking
“ in

“in the same way; not being high-minded, but fearing the Lord, that we may serve him through our generation, in diligence and faithfulness, and so enter into the rest that God hath reserved for his true travellers, and labourers in his vineyard.

“And now, dear brethren, know that the Lord hath brought us well into this kingdom of Ireland, and given us many large and blessed opportunities in several parts; meetings being crowded by people of all ranks and persuasions, especially at Dublin, who, for any thing we have heard, have given the truth a good report. And indeed the Lord hath mightily appeared for his own name, and owned us with a more than ordinary presence, suitable to the occasions; and made very heavy and hard things easy to us, because of the glory of his power, with which he assisted us in our needful times; for which our souls bow before him, and bless, reverence, and praise his holy name! So that we have good tidings to give you of truth’s prosperity at large, and more especially in the church; having had the comfort of the general meeting of this nation, consisting of many weighty brethren and sisters from all parts thereof, which was held in the city of Dublin, in much love, peace, and unity for several days; wherein we had occasion to observe their commendable care for the preservation of the truth, in all the branches of its holy testimony, both in the general, and in the particular; improving the good order that is practised among the churches of Christ in our nation. Indeed their simplicity, gravity, and coolness in managing their church affairs; their diligence in meetings, both for worship and business; their dispatch in ending differences, and expedients to prevent them; but especially their zeal against covetousness, and indifferency in truth’s service, and an exemplary care to discourage an immoderate concern in pursuit of the things of this life, and to excite
“friends

" friends to do good with what they are possessed of,
 " while they have it, and time to do good withal;
 " these have very greatly comforted us: and in the
 " sweet and blessed power of Christ Jesus the meet-
 " ings ended, and friends departed. The Lord grant
 " that you may also make the same purpose the travel
 " of your souls, and end of your labour and service of
 " love, as not seeking your own things, but the things
 " of Jesus Christ, in this your solemn general meeting.
 " And, dear brethren, we must tell you, here is room
 " enough for true labourers in God's vineyard; and
 " cannot well forbear to recommend the service of
 " truth in this nation to your serious consideration, if
 " happily the Lord may put it into the hearts of any
 " faithful and weighty brethren to visit it in the word
 " of eternal life; for the harvest appears to us to be
 " great, and the labourers, in comparison, but few.

" So in that love, which many waters cannot quench,
 " nor distance wear out of our remembrance, and in
 " which we desire to be remembered of you to the
 " Lord of our household, we dearly and tenderly sa-
 " lute and embrace you, and remain your loving and
 " faithful brethren,

" WILLIAM PENN,

" JOHN EVEROT,

" THOMAS STORY.

" P. S. Friends here have been very zealous and
 " liberal in printing and reprinting, and freely distri-
 " buting great numbers, (and to good purpose) of se-
 " veral books and papers, writ in defence of the truth,
 " and for information of the simple and misinformed:
 " which we hope will also fall under your considera-
 " tion."

We went to Waterford, Clonmel, and Youghall,
 and into the barony of Imokilley, where lies great part
 of William Penn's estate in that kingdom, some of
 which

which he viewed, and we staid thereabout till the 10th of 7th month; and being at the castle of Shannigary belonging to him, a gentlewoman of good sense and character related to me the following passage, viz.

“That she being in the city of Cork, when it was “invested by King William’s army, and having a little “daughter of her’s with her, they were sitting together on a squab; and being much concerned in “mind about the danger and circumstances they were “under, she was seized with a sudden fear and strong “impulse to rise from that seat, which she did in a “precipitate manner, and hasted to another part of “the room; and then was in the like concern for her “child, to whom she called with uncommon earnestness to come to her, which she did; immediately “after which came a cannon ball, and struck the seat “all in pieces, and drove the parts of it about the “room, without their receiving any hurt.”

From this relation I took occasion to reason with her thus: “That intelligencer which gave her notice, by fear, of the danger they were in, must be a spiritual being having access to her mind (which is likewise of a spiritual nature) when in that state of humiliation under those circumstances; and must also be a good and beneficent intelligencer, willing to preserve them, and furnished also with knowledge and foresight more than human. He must have known that such a piece would be fired at that time, and that the ball would hit the seat, and infallibly destroy you both, if not prevented in due time by a suitable admonition; which he suggested by the passion fear (the passions being useful when duly subjected) and by that means saved your lives.

“And seeing that the passions of the mind can be wrought upon for our good, by an invisible beneficent intelligencer in the mind, in a state of humiliation and stillness, without any exterior medium; is it not reasonable to conclude, that an evil intelligencer may have likewise

likewise access to the mind in a state of unwatchfulness, when the passions are moving, and the imagination at liberty to form ideas destructive to the mind, being thereby depraved and wounded? And when so, is it not likewise reasonable to think, that the Almighty himself, who is the most pure, merciful, and beneficent Spirit, knowing all events and things, doth sometimes, at his pleasure, visit the minds of mankind through Christ, as through or under a veil, so as to communicate of his goodness and virtue to a humble and silent mind, to heal, and instruct in things pleasing to himself, and proper for the conduct of man in his pilgrimage through this present world, and lead him to the next in safety?"

The truth of these remarks was readily granted, and the conversation seemed agreeable to us all.

On the 10th in the evening we went to Cork; and on the 12th, being the first of the week, we had a large meeting there, both of friends from several parts, and others in great numbers; and the divine truth was over all. From hence we went to Bandon, and several other places in these parts; (John Everot sometimes being with us, and at other times by himself) and on the first day following had another meeting at Cork, which was large. After this, we had meetings at Charlynill and Limerick; here we viewed some of the effects of the late siege, and observed the walls of some houses, as well as of the city, had been much shattered with many large cannon shot, and that great breaches had been made at the siege by King William's army, in which I had two brothers; one of which, an ensign, was killed before at the siege of Charlemont; and the other, being chaplain to a regiment under command of Sir Thomas Gower, a relation of ours, survived the wars, wrote the history of them, and afterwards was made dean of Limerick, in which station he died.

We

We went to see our ancient and honourable friend William Edmundson at Roseanalles, where, after staying some time, I left my companions, and went to Mountmelick, and visited some friends there, in the town and near it. And on the 10th, being first day of the week, William Penn and his company came to us, and we had a very large meeting, and the Lord was with us in general; but as I had greater regard to the services of my companions than my own, I had at Limerick, under that consideration, neglected my own gift till the proper time of the exercise thereof was over, and so came from thence greatly loaden in my mind. And here, fearing to do the like, and add to my burthen (too heavy already to bear) I stood up to speak too soon; and that I might not be in the way of those I preferred, I spake too fast, and thereby went before my right guide, so that my burthen remained on that account, though not so heavy as before; for the Lord, who is merciful, knew it was not wilful, but out of weakness: yet by this conduct I obtained further (though expensive) experience; that neither too much regard nor disregard to any person, neither too much staying behind our true guide, or going before, ought to be; but in and with the divine and living truth, and the motion and operation of, it, is God's time; and then only can men preach the gospel. Time is distinguished by motion, and when he moves, then is his time to be observed; and that, and no other, sooner or later, should be made our time; though some disappointments there are, not properly from our own fault, but occasioned by the unskilfulness and haste of others, taking a wrong time, and intruding where they ought not; in which there is a great and hidden mystery of evil, and the gospel of Christ thereby greatly hindered, often out of the view of the unskilful instruments acting or omitting to act therein. The same afternoon was their meeting for business, where things were managed with a just severity

severity against every appearance of evil, to the great comfort of the upright, and discouragement of evil doers; a great instrument of exact discipline being that ancient and worthy friend of truth William Edmundson, who lived within the precincts of this meeting.

Next day we went to Edenderry, where we met our friends Samuel Waldenfield, and John Vaughton from London. Here we were favoured also with a large meeting of friends and others, to our satisfaction. We went from thence to Lurgan, and Dundalk, where we saw the place of the late miserable camps, in which such numbers had died in great distress; and what gave occasion for compassionate reflection on the miseries and calamities of war, by men professing on all hands the peaceable Saviour, was the skulls, and other bones of human bodies, of the same flesh and blood with us (for God made of one blood all nations) who never had received human burial: but their flesh had been, no doubt, rent from their bones by the wild beasts and dogs, and fowls of the air.

The next day we arrived at Dublin, where we had meetings, and on the 20th went to Kilcock, from thence to Carlow. And thus we travelled through the country, visiting friends and meetings as we went, till we came up towards the south parts; where I left the company, and went to Clonmel, in order to see my brother George, then dean of Limerick, and met with him at Thomas Osborn's (eldest son of Sir Thomas Osborn) whose wife was my brother's wife's aunt; he had been sent into France for education, and there had embraced the Romish religion.

When I came to the house, I found him of a frank and familiar temper, and in less than an hour he desired me to take a turn with him in the garden; and walking there together, he asked me some questions concerning our principles, and more particularly of our

our silent meetings, and of what advantage they were to us; for he did suppose they were of some use, else we would not continue in the practice of them.

I answered, "That we had been as other men, subject to common infirmities, and ignorant of God, as to any experience of his presence and divine working in us, till it pleased him in his goodness and mercy to visit us by the Spirit of his Son Christ, through which we had known a time of condemnation and humiliation for sins past, and true repentance and forgiveness; and believing in him through the work of his spirit and power in our minds, he, with the light and life of his Son, became the object of our faith; by which also he sanctified our hearts, and reconciled us unto himself: so that the enmity being slain, and we made temples of the Holy Ghost, we now worshipped the Father through the Spirit of his Son, in a state of faith and obedience; whereby we draw near unto him, even through that blessed medium which himself hath appointed, partaking of the nature of man; not of flesh and blood only, as the Son of man, but also being clothed with a holy human mind, by him we are made partakers of the divine nature as the sons of God; as it is written, *He shall take of mine, and give it unto you.*

"And the Father being made manifest in him, we have instructions in wisdom, and enjoyments in the divine and blessed presence, of which the world, in a state of nature, is not aware. And not more so than in a state of silence, where all the passions, affections, and natural desires of the heart are silenced by the all-commanding voice and power of the divine word, who hath said, *Let the worlds be, and it was so.*"

He heard me with attention, and replied, "That he firmly believed what I had said: that we were such a people, and consequently the happiest in the world, over whom the Almighty hath a particular care. That he was at one of our meetings some time ago, and was so well satisfied with what he felt there, that
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though

though some who were with him would have had him left the meeting before it was ended, he staid the whole time, having never met with the like satisfaction any where else." By the time this conversation was finished, he began to be apprehensive that his priest would miss us out of the company, and be in quest of him (for he kept a Popish priest in his house under the appearance of a gentleman) and so it proved, for as we were returning he came to us; and the priest beginning to ask me some questions, he withdrew.

The first question he asked me was, "Whether we believed predestination?" I answered, "No; but that the grace of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, is universal, and free to all mankind." Then he said, "they were of different opinions on that subject; some one way, and some another." He then asked me, "What we thought of excommunication? what effect it is of in the church?" I answered, "That it ought to be applied to such as denied the faith in express words; or if not in words, yet by actions, by committing and persisting in any immoral or sinful acts; or declining the common and stated rules of the community, or terms of Christian communion among them: but that excommunication ought not to affect life, liberty, property, or the person of any one, but only to deny him Christian communion till reformed."

"This he said was not of sufficient force to awe offenders, or to induce their return, where the motives to their offences were strong and cogent." I replied, "That to be denied communion by any real Christian congregation, of which one is a member, is a matter of great weight and consequence; for certainly God is with and in his own appointments: and whoever is denied by the church of Christ, is denied by himself: for as she acts in and by his Spirit, which is ever in her, and present with her, it is his act by her; and in that respect she is called the ground and pillar of truth: and offenders, so denied, undergo, even in this life,

life, a burthen more sinking than the loss of all they have in the world. But where any form of excommunication is invented only by the wisdom or policy of men from secular views, with punishments of their own contriving annexed, the Lord doth not co-operate there, nor own that ordinance; so that the punishments awarded, which are often inadequate, cruel, and unjust, are all that the excommunicated sustain: not for the salvation of the soul, but satisfying the ends of power, pride, covetousness, and envy; to the destruction of the character, estate, body, and family, if not ruin of the soul, by complying (under such grievous temptations) with heterodox errors in opinion and practices immoral, idolatrous, and antichristian; fruits of the inventions of apostate and fallen spirits, by whom the children of men are deceived."

What he would have replied to this; or whether any thing, I do not know; but being near the house, we were called to supper, after which we had more conversation on religious subjects.

Next morning I set forward for Cashel, where I met my companions, and a meeting was held, to which a great multitude of people came. The mayor of the town, with constables, &c. came by direction of the bishop of the place, and endeavoured to break up the meeting, but could not succeed. From Cashel we went towards Cork, taking meetings in our way, and when we came there, William Penn went to see the lords justices, who had a very great friendship for him. The earl of Galloway expressed his disapprobation of the bishop's conduct, in endeavouring to disturb the meeting.

We staid at Cork, and those parts, having meetings there and in the country till the 19th of 6th month, and then we set sail from Cork, and landed at Minehead on the 21st in good health, and in peace; for which we were thankful to the Lord, and giver of all
our

our mercies. From thence we went to Bristol, where I lodged at William Penn's, and staid some weeks.

On the 5th of the 8th month I returned to London, preserved through all dangers, to the praise of him who liveth and reigneth, and is worthy of all adoration and glory for ever and ever ! Amen.

I now turn my face towards America, and think proper to go back in point of time, in order to relate how my concern for that part of the world began in me and increased. In the year 1693, as I was riding alone in an evening in Cumberland, the power of divine truth moved upon my mind, and my heart was greatly tendered before the Lord ; and the word of the Lord opened in me, saying, " Behold my visitation cometh over the western parts of the world, towards the sun-setting in the time of winter." And I was greatly comforted in the words of his holiness. From henceforward I was often tendered in spirit, in remembrance of the western world, in a sense of the love and visitation of God to a people there whom I had never seen ; which was more and more renewed and settled upon my mind, in frequent tenderings and brokenness of heart, under the influence of the divine presence : but hitherto I knew not that the call of the Lord was to me to visit those parts.

And in the time of the yearly meeting at London, in 1695, Aaron Atkinson being concerned in prayer, among other petitions to the Lord, prayed for the western countries, and places beyond the seas, " that the Lord would please to send forth his ministers, in the power of his word, to publish the day of glad tidings more and more among them : " upon which the power of divine life moved sensibly in my heart ; and the concern, secretly begotten in my soul, now began to answer and appear ; and after that, great heaviness and fear came over me. The same day, after the meeting, several Cumberland friends and others
being

being together, upon occasion of mentioning some of those countries by one of the company, the word of life moved powerfully in my soul, with open assurance of the call of the Lord to me to visit some of the American countries : but though I was exceedingly broken, to the tendering also of most of the friends there, yet I was silent as to the particular matter, being willing to conceal it as long as I could, since no time was then fixed when I should move forward therein. But finding my concern to remain and increase, I yielded at length in the secret of my mind, to answer the call of the Lord to that part of the world.

And here it may be regular to mention my companion Roger Gill, who, some time in the first month of this year 1698, having informed me that he was under the like concern to visit America, we concluded to go together ; and having made known our concern to the brethren at the morning meeting in London, they encouraged us ; and provision being made, both by the body of friends, and many particulars, of every thing needful for our voyage and journey, on the 10th of the 9th month we went on board near Deptford, in the river Thames, accompanied by several of our dear friends and brethren, viz. John Field, John Butcher, Robert Atkinson, and several others ; and soon after came to us William Penn, and Joseph Wyeth. And being together in the great cabin, the good presence of the Lord commanded deep, inward silence before him, and the Comforter broke in upon us by his irresistible power, and greatly tendered us together in his heavenly love, whereby we were melted into many tears : glorious was this appearance to the humbling of us all, and admiration of some there, who did not understand it. We remained in this condition for a considerable time ; and then William Penn was concerned in prayer “ for the good and preservation of
“ all, and more especially for us then about to leave
“ them : with thanksgiving also for all the favours of

“ God, and for that holy and precious enjoyment as “ an addition to his many former blessings.” When he had finished, the same holy embraces of divine soul-melting love remained, and were repeated upon the silent weeping assembly, to the full confirmation of us more immediately concerned, and further evidence to the brethren of the truth of our calling. In this love unfeigned, and tender condition of mind, we embraced each other, to our mutual satisfaction ; for the same powerful love of truth that makes us loth to depart from the friends and brethren of our own native land, drawing us to remote parts of the world, and remaining in our hearts, gives courage and strength also to leave all, and follow the Lord, even wheresoever he will.

We looked after them so long as we could see them, not with minds to go backwards, or hearts with any desire now to return, but in the comfort of divine love ; which neither distance of place, nor number of years, shall ever be able to obstruct or deface, as we keep true to the Lord in ourselves. That night we fell down to Blackwall, and on the 12th arrived at Gravesend ; here we went on shore, and next morning took coach for Rochester, where we had a large and comfortable meeting with friends, and many others. In the evening we returned to Gravesend, and the next day went on board, but did not arrive in the Downs till the 18th ; we went on shore with some difficulty, and had a meeting at Deal ; from thence went to Dover, and Folkstone, and had meetings, returning to Deal on the 29th. The next day we set sail from the Downs, and proceeded on our voyage ; in which we had various weather until the 18th of 10th month, being first day of the week, when, till eight in the morning, we had a very hard gale of wind at west. At nine we bore up to the northward, the wind at south west, which increased to a very great storm ; so that the yards were brought down upon the gunnels,

gunnels, and the helm lashed and made fast, and the ship let drive before the wind. We being met together in the great cabin and steerage to wait upon the Lord, as at other times, he was pleased to appear in the needful time, for the tempest increased, with thunder and lightning, and rain, to that degree, that few there, if any, had ever seen the like.

In waiting upon the Lord, I became concerned in prayer; and wrestling in spirit with the Lord, I received hope that we should not perish: having concluded for that time, and my concern returning, I prayed again, and then some stout hearts were broken, and the Lord's power glorified; we were likewise greatly comforted.

Soon after the storm abated, and we had no more after it to that degree, though there was still a continuance of stormy weather. Here we saw the effects of the mighty power of God; how he enrageth, and again, at his pleasure, stilleth the seas; he that createth the winds, and bindeth the ocean as in swaddling bands, and holdeth the deep as in the hollow of his hand, and worketh in the heavens above, and in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the same, whatsoever he will; the God of truth is his name for ever.

Having sailed through many storms, over most of the great western ocean, under the protection of the Divine Providence; and all the ship's reckonings being out, on the 7th of 12th month, the next day we struck ground with the lead at nineteen fathom water. This was glad tidings to us, and being in our latitude, we stood in towards the land all night, and the next morning saw the Capes on either side of the Bay of Chesapeak, and that afternoon we came to an anchor in Mockjack Bay, a little above Point Comfort.

On the 11th of 12th month we set sail in the long boat for Queen's Creek in York River, where we got
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with some difficulty, and were made welcome at the house of our friend Edward Thomas; had a meeting with the family, and a few of the neighbourhood, who, though not of the society, were several of them much tendered; which was the first fruits of our ministry in that country, and good encouragement. We went from hence to Warwick river, Martin's Hundred, and Bangor House, and had meetings to satisfaction. At Scimmino in York County, at the house of John Bates, we had a meeting appointed, where no meeting had been before. The people were generally tendered and humbled, and we comforted in a sense of the love and visitation of God towards them: and the concluding of the meeting falling upon me, among other requests to the Lord, it was upon my mind to say, in the spirit of prayer, "That since
" such who should give a cup of cold water only to
" any of his, in the name of a disciple, were not to lose
" their reward, the Lord would be pleased to reward
" those, who had so readily and openly received us,
" and a meeting of his people in their house, with a
" knowledge of his blessed truth;" when both John Bates and his wife were convinced of truth, and from that time professed the same with us.

Next day we had a meeting at the house of Daniel Akehurst, in which many were humbled and tendered by the word and power of truth, and departed in a solid frame of mind: "We having preached to them the free and universal grace of God through Christ for life and salvation, endeavouring to turn them thereunto; that through faith therein they might come to know the full end of the sacrifice of the blood of Christ shed at Jerusalem of old; and how that such as reject this grace, and spirit of Christ in their own hearts at this day, have not the benefit of that work and sacrifice of Christ then made manifest; but crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh." With
many

many other things of weight, which the Lord opened in us, and by us, to the people, to our comfort, and their edification, and to his praise.

The next morning we went down to Thomas Cary's, toward the foot of the Creek. He had been lately convinced, but was not then at home; but his wife having been likewise lately convinced, so soon as we entered the house, the Lord's power tendered us, and we were much comforted together; and his brother Miles Cary, and his wife, coming thither to see us, were made partakers of the same visitation. By the time this satisfactory visit was finished, came three of our friends, with some other assistance, and took a boat, and set us over James River to Chuckatuc; which being a long way, and night coming on, we ran several times on ground, so that it was late in the night before we arrived at our desired port; which was at the house of our ancient friend John Copeland, where we were openly and cordially received and entertained, though they knew nothing of us till we entered the house.

We staid there that night, and were much satisfied every way; and upon some discourse with our friend, I found he was one of the first of those who had their ears cut off by the Independents in New-England for the testimony of truth, in the first publishing thereof to that rebellious generation: and at my request he shewed us his right ear, yet bearing the badge of their antichristianity.

From hence we went to Derasconeck, Western and Southern Branch, having meetings to our comfort and satisfaction. On the 5th of 1st month, being first day of the week, had a meeting at Barbican, the last meeting in Virginia towards Carolina. That night we lodged at our friend Nathan Newby's, and had some discourse with him concerning the Indians, and what sentiments they have about heaven and heavenly things. He told us, "Many of them came frequently to

to his house, to employ him to mend their guns (being a smith) and he had discoursed with them on such subjects; and as to the Divine Being, they think there is one that made all things, and that he always beholds all the Indians, as if they were comprehended together in a small circle; and that all bad Indians, who will lie, steal, cheat, and do other ill things, when they die, go to a cold country, where they are always hungry, cold, and in all manner of distress they can imagine: but the good Indians, who will not do such things, go to a warm country, where they have fat boar and roasting ears all the year long; these being the most excellent food they can imagine."

It seems these are the greatest enjoyments known to them, or that their imaginations can reach: and as they believe rewards and punishments in another world, they think they must consist of such things as are agreeable or disagreeable to their senses in their present state. But though their notions be low and sensual, yet I do think, that if many thousands that profess the true God and Christ, were to give their sentiments concerning future rewards and punishments, and wherein they do consist, they would not much exceed the Indians therein; since many of them are so far from any sense or relish of the holy and divine earnest, and taste of the true bread of life, which comes down daily from God out of heaven, and, as manna, is daily rained about the tents and dwellings of the whole Israel of God, that they do not believe it.

The Indians are just, loving, courteous (in their way) and harmless to all that are so to them; but if wronged, or abused, revengeful: and what immoralities, as drunkenness, swearing, and the like are among them, they have learned of our own countrymen, who make greater pretences to religion and knowledge, and yet are worse in practice. The God of truth open the eyes of boasting and vain-glorious Christendom,

to

to see how far she is short of true Christianity; and that till her inhabitants experience a change by the workings of the divine nature in them, they are yet but practical heathens, in the nature of the first, fallen Adam, and so esteemed in the sight of the Lord, whose love is likewise towards the Indians, which will be more fully manifested in them in his appointed time!

We proceeded to Picquimon's Creek in North-Carolina, where we had a meeting which was large, and, several persons of note were there: but the noises and elevations of some professing truth, occasioned their admiration, and was hurtful to them; though they had before that been very solid, and attentive to my companion's testimony, who had the whole publick concern in the meeting that day.

On the 9th we went forward, and passed over Little River, having meetings at several places, and on the 13th had a pretty large meeting, where several were tendered, among whom were some negroes. And here I shall observe, that several negroes had of late come to meetings, having a sense of truth; several others thereaway were likewise convinced, and like to do well. And the morning we came from Thomas Simons's, my companion speaking some words of truth to his negro woman, she was tendered; and as I passed on horseback by the place where she stood weeping, I gave her my hand; and then she was much more broken: and finding the day of the Lord's tender visitation and mercy upon her, I spake encouragingly to her, being glad to find the poor blacks so near the truth, and reachable. She stood there looking after us, and weeping, as long as we could see her.

I had enquired of one of the black men, how long they had come to meetings? And he said, "They had always been kept in ignorance, and disregarded, as persons who were not to expect any thing from the Lord,

Lord, till Jonathan Taylor, (who had been there a year before) discoursing with them, had informed them, that the grace of God through Christ was also given to them; and that they ought to believe in, and be led and taught by it, and so might come to be good friends, and saved as well as others, of which they were glad; and on the next occasion, which was when William Ellis and Aaron Atkinson were there, they went to meetings, and several of them were convinced." Thus one planteth, and another watereth, but the Lord giveth the increase.

I called one of the negroes aside after the meeting, and exhorted him to be inward with the Lord; and "that he and the rest should wait to know the work of the power of God in themselves, to change their minds from a state of nature and sin to a heavenly condition." To this he was attentive, and said, "He, and those other negroes that were convinced, had discoursed with others of them, and had told them what they were to come to understand and believe; and that some were inquisitive after truth, but some others of them seemed to take little notice: But, said he, every tub must stand on its own bottom; and the neglect of others, we hope, shall not discourage us to press forward in that which we are persuaded is the best."

On the 13th at night we passed over the river, and next day had a good meeting, in which many were tendered; my companion especially being very powerful that day in his testimony, to the praise of the Lord, of whom alone is the power, and to whom be all glory for ever. Next morning we went over the Great Sound, and had a meeting; the day following we set forward for Virginia, and were at Chuckatuck, Southern Branch, Elizabeth's Town, and had meetings; and, being at the Creek side, accompanied by some friends, and ready to take boat, the good presence of the Lord came upon us, and sweetly tendered us together; my companion first, and then I, had some time in prayer, where

where we parted with those friends in tender love. After this we had a meeting at Pagan Creek, Lyon's Creek, and from hence went to Burleigh, to the house of James Johns: we had not been long in the house, till I perceived a concern in my mind in the truth; and seeing two Indian men servants, and a negro woman about the house, I found it was on their account; for the love of God was towards them. As soon as I could, I took an opportunity to retire into the woods, for the more free exercise of my mind, in the gift of God, alone; and to see what might be the issue of my inward concern. Remaining there till the evening, as finding no way for it that night, the next morning I sent for those servants, and had the family and them together in the hall; where I published to them, "The day of the visitation of God, directing their minds to the light and grace of God in their own hearts, that as it reproveth sin in them, and in all men: so it teacheth all that will receive it, to *deny ungodliness, and worldly lusts, and to walk godly, righteously, and soberly, in this present world.* And thereby men, escaping the corruptions that are in this world through lust, are received into everlasting joys in the world to come: but such as are not led and governed by the grace of God here, they are to be condemned unto everlasting fire, in the great day of the judgment of Almighty God, which is coming upon all the world; and that though men there should desire to die, they could not; neither is there any end of their torments;" with some other things importing both the judgments and mercies of God.

"I also exhorted them to wait upon the Lord in stillness, who, being a holy, invisible Spirit, appears only in the hearts and minds of men, and not to the outward eye and sight; and that whatsoever things are reprov'd in men's hearts here, in this world, will be condemned in the day of judgment; but if they repent of their former evil deeds, and for the time to

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come.

join and unite with the Spirit of Christ, which
vers and condemns all evil in them, the Lord
will not only forgive their former sins, but be their
exceeding great comforter in this life; and in the
world to come they shall sing everlasting songs of
praises to the great God, in the kingdom of his glory,
in the sweet company of innumerable angels, and the
spirits of just and good men in a state of perfection,
where there is divine pleasure unutterable and ever-
lasting."

One of the Indians had wept much, and there be-
ing a meeting the same day at our friend T. Chappel's,
about two miles from this, they both came after us
thither. After this, we had several meetings, and
came to our friend Jane Pleasant's, at Curles; there
we met with my companion (who had left me for a
little while) and several other friends, to our mutual
satisfaction. On the 4th we had a meeting here, my
concern in it was, for the most part, about marriage,
and the displeasure of God against his own people in
the old world, and in all ages of this, against mixed
marriages between them and the world. This con-
cern I bore long in the meeting, under fear lest it
should arise from the hearing of the ear only (having
heard some hints of Jane Pleasant's son being about to
take a wife that did not profess with us); but at length,
seeing my way clear, I discharged my conscience in
the matter; and the young man was, for that time,
brought to a sense of his error. On the two following
days we had meetings, and were at a meeting on the
first day of the week, at Black Creek, in which the
power and goodness of the Lord was plentifully with
us, and many were tendered thereby. The next morn-
ing we went towards the upper part of Mattapan-
y River, and hearing of an Indian town, we went to see
them. They are the Chickahomine Indians; the town
consisted of about eleven wigwams, or houses, made
of the bark of trees, and contained so many families:

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we were directed to the Sagamor, or Chieft, yet when we went to his door, he came out with a little of cloth about his middle, but otherwise naked, and invited us in, and being set down, several of his people came to look upon us. After a time of silence, and the company increased, we asked him if they were all there, for we desired to see as many of them together as we could; which being interpreted to the Sagamor, who was a grave, serious, and wary old man, he seemed to be under some suspicion of us, and what we might mean by desiring to see them all together, being wholly strangers to them. Then I informed them by the interpreter, "That we did not come among them for any hurt to them, or gain to ourselves; but, being lately arrived from England, had a desire to see them: for we loved Indians, and had something to say to them concerning the great God, who made the heavens, the sun, moon, earth, and all that dwell therein, Englishmen, Indians, and all nations; that he loves all good English, and good Indians, and other good people every where."

Upon this they seemed a little more calm and settled in their countenances, and my companion spake to them concerning the immortality of the soul, "and that God had placed a witness in the heart of every man, which approves that which is good, and re-proves that which is evil." The Sagamor then pointed to his head, and said, "That was treacherous, or fallacious;" but, pointing to his breast, said, "It was true and sweet there;" and then he sent forth his breath, as if he had poured out his soul unto death; and signing up towards heaven with his hand, raised a bold, chearful, and loud hey, as if the soul ascended thither in a triumphant manner: then pointing to his body, from thence put his hand towards the earth, to demonstrate his opinion, that the body remains there, when the soul is departed, and ascended.

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of this Sagamor, that he was never but once, and that was when young; such a trouble to his mind, and virtue that he always after shunned every evil. We took them by the hand, they seemed well pleased with our

visit.

As to the conversion of the Indians, of all, or any nation, or nations, to the truth, I believe the Lord will call them; but it seems to me, that learning, or the historical part of religion, will not be much instrumental in it; but the Word of life, whose divine and life-giving intellectual speech is more certainly known in the mind, will tender their hearts, in a silent state and retirement, by means of some instruments that the Lord will raise up and qualify for that purpose. And when it shall please the Lord to send forth his word, *The light of the Gentiles*, the quickening Spirit of Jesus, into, and upon any of them in holy silence, or in prayer, their minds shall be directed to the Spirit himself, as the present object of their faith, obedience, and love, and author of their present joy and salvation; and so believing in the light, shall become children of that light and day of God, and heirs of eternal life in him: and then the histories in the bible, the prophecies of the prophets of God, and the fulfilling of them; the evangelical account of the conception, birth, life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, ascension, glorification, mediation, intercession, and judgment of him, who is the substance of all, *and the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world*, will be the more clearly received by the Indians, when the Almighty shall think fit to acquaint them therewith.

We went from hence to Queen's Creek, Hickery Neck, York City, Pocason, and had meetings in a good degree to satisfaction. On the 26th we had a meeting

meeting at G. Walker's at Kickatan; it was small, yet many things were opened of great moment; and the Lord gave us a good time together. After this meeting I found myself under a particular concern for the restoration of the wife of G Walker the younger, who was one of the daughters of that unhappy apostate Geo. Keith: I observed her to have a good natural understanding, but much out of that innocent adorning, both of body and mind, usual among our best friends, and I spoke to her alone on that subject, in much tenderness. I perceived the love of truth was towards her, and a time of visitation; and exhorted her therein to be humble and moderate in all things, fearing the Lord. At first, as I thought, she was jealous I had done it reproachfully, considering the circumstances of her father and mother; but nothing appearing in me but true respect and friendship, she began in a short time to be moved, and shed tears; under which tenderness I took leave of her, being full of compassion in the love of truth towards her; in which also I greatly desired the return of all that had gone out from the truth that way.

Next day we went to Queen's Creek, from thence to Remuncock, and had a meeting, which was large and open. We proceeded towards Maryland, and had meetings till we came to Newcastle, where we met with some friends of Philadelphia, and had a large meeting, in which we were much comforted in the truth. On the 15th we had a meeting at Merion with the Welch friends, among whom I was much satisfied; for several of them appearing in testimony in the British tongue, which I did not understand; yet being from the word of truth in them, as instruments moved thereby, I was as much refreshed, as if it had been in my own language; which confirmed me in what I had thought before, that where the spirit is the same in the preacher and hearer, and is the truth, the refreshment is chiefly thereby, rather than by the form of words.

or language, to all that are in the same spirit at the same time : and this is the universal language of the spirit; known and understood in all tongues and nations, to them that are born of him. But in order to the convincement of such as know not the truth; for the begetting of faith in such as do not yet believe therein; for the opening of the understanding, by the form of doctrine, and declaration of the necessary truths of the gospel and kingdom of God, intelligible language, uttered under the immediate influence of the spirit of truth, is indispensably necessary; as also for the edifying of the church, the body of Christ, in general.

That evening we went to Philadelphia, where we staid till the 17th day of the month, and then went to Burlington in West New-Jersey, where we had a meeting on the first day of the week. From hence we proceeded to Croswicks, New-York, and West-Chester. Here we fell in opportunely with a yearly meeting, about 20 miles from New-York. On the 26th we set forward for Rhode-Island, about 200 miles by land, accompanied by several friends to Stanford, in the colony of Connecticut, where we inclined to have a meeting, which was pretty much disturbed by a constable, and his assistant, who came with a warrant from the mayor of the town, containing false charges against us. When the meeting was over, we went into the inn, where several of the people came to dispute with us.

The first matter pitched upon was the universal free grace of God to all men, through our Lord Jesus Christ; this we asserted and maintained over them, which being contrary to their beloved doctrine of personal predestination, it occasioned a discourse on that subject; and the proof being incumbent on them, one of them with great confidence asserted, " That God
" said, before Jacob and Esau were born, that he
" loved Jacob, and hated Esau; and that it was the
" pleasure

“pleasure and decree of God from everlasting so to do, without any cause in either of them, being before they had done good or evil.”

Then I called for one of their bibles, and told him, “He and they were all in a great mistake concerning that scripture; for God did not say, before the children were born, Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated; but said, ** Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger.* Here the answer of God, being a prediction, had no respect to the persons of Jacob and Esau; nor was it ever fulfilled personally in them: for Esau, who was the elder, never served Jacob in person; but, on the contrary, Jacob did obeisance to Esau, and called him his Lord.† This prediction then was written concerning the different posterity of Esau and Jacob, and not their persons; and was fulfilled in the Edomites of Mount Seir, who came of Esau, and Israel, who came of Jacob; and the displeasure of God against the Edomites, was not from any forehatred, or decree of God from eternity, as ye suppose; but the moral cause of his displeasure and their ruin was, their great sins and wickedness, as declared by the prophets of God; and first by Ezekiel, ‡ *Behold, O Mount Seir, I am against thee, because thou hast had a perpetual hatred, and hast shed the blood of the children of Israel by the force of the sword in the time of their calamity, &c.* And likewise by Amos, § *Because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and keep his wrath for ever.* And also by Obadiah against Esau, that is, Edom, || *For the pride of thine heart; for thy violence against thy brother Ja-*

* Gen. xxv. 23.

† Ibid. xxxii. 4. 18. 20.

‡ Ezek. xxiv. 5.

§ Amos i. 11.

|| Obad. 3, &c.

cob, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever. And last of all by Malachi, who hath it thus, * *Was not Esau Jacob's brother, saith the Lord: yet I loved Jacob, and hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste, &c.* which was for his pride, obstinacy, and opposition, persisting in final rebellion, impenitence and contradiction: all which is still concerning Edom and Israel, and not the persons of Jacob and Esau; the last of those prophets having wrote about 441 years after the prediction of God to Rebecca, concerning their posterity."

And the apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, where he saith, "† *As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated,* refers to that of Malachi as above, about 457 years after Malachi wrote. And in that chapter the apostle was labouring to convince the Jews, that they are not the true seed or elect of God (as they seemed to have imagined) because they were the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, after the flesh: but Esau being a rough, wild, hairy man, was a figure of the first birth of man after the flesh, as a son of the first Adam in the fall, who, in that state, cannot inherit the kingdom of God; and Jacob, a figure of the second birth, or regenerate state of man, in Christ the second Adam, who never fell, nor could fall: ‡ *For, saith the apostle, they are not all Israel, who are of Israel; neither, because they are of the seed of Abraham, are they all children; but in Isaac shall thy seed be called: that is, they who are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed.* Now the promise is Christ, the Messiah, the elect and promised seed of God; of whom it is written, I, and the children which thou hast given me: which children are all that believe in him, as he is the man Christ Jesus,

* Mal. i. 2, 3.

† Rom. ix. 13.

‡ Heb. xi. 18.

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the Son and Word of God, and light of the Gentiles ; and are born of him, by the influence of his Holy Spirit working in them."

This weakened our opponent, who made no suitable reply, but soon after went out of the house : the truth prevailed, and I believe several understandings were, in some degree, opened on that subject, and some other points ; the people parted with us in a friendly manner, the better part being sensibly reached ; and then we departed in the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the praise of all ; for of him is the understanding and power now and for ever.

We went forward to Fairfield, about 20 miles, and lodged at the house of one Philip Lewis : he told us there was to be a great meeting of their people, and a quarterly lecture in that place next day to the inhabitants of seven townships, and all their ministers. We took notice of it, and it appeared to be right for us to attend this meeting, which we accordingly did, and had an opportunity, though not without difficulty, of speaking something to the people, after the minister had concluded his sermon. But not being easy, we went in the afternoon to a house in the town, where the ministers were met, and being received courteously, we sat down, and soon entered into conversation with them, chiefly on the subject of baptism ; in the conclusion of which, addressing myself more particularly to the people present, I told them, " That by using infant baptism, they were only in the practice of a relick of popery, instead of an ordinance of Christ : for the antichristian church of Rome, imagining children to have original sin, and that something should be done to clear them of it, they thought upon water baptism, as the effectual means ; which accordingly they administered : but afterwards they declined baptism, and substituted sprinkling, first to sick or weakly children, and by degrees to children in general. And, to their new invention, they added several superstitious and

and ridiculous actions and ceremonies : they appointed godfathers and godmothers ; the priest breathes in the child's face, signs him on the breast and forehead with the sign of the cross (but without any remaining mark) puts salt in his mouth, and spittle upon his ears and nostrils, and asks him (though he understands nothing) if he will renounce the devil, and all his pomps ; anoints him with oil on the head, shoulders, and breast ; and gives him a white chrysom, and puts a hallowed candle in his hand. And the effects they ascribe to all this are, *First*, It makes the subjects thereof children of God, and remits both original and actual sin. *Secondly*, It infuseth justifying grace into the soul, with habits of faith, hope, and charity, and all supernatural gifts and virtues. *Thirdly*, it makes a spiritual mark or character in the soul, which shall remain for ever, either to their great joy in heaven, or confusion in hell. But when the Lutherans and Episcopalians in England reformed from Rome, they laid aside the superstitious part, except godfathers, godmothers, and the sign of the cross on the forehead, which they still retain ; and ascribe the like effects to their act of sprinkling : and when your predecessors, the Presbyterians and Independents in England, reformed and dissented from them, they rejected the sign of the cross, godfathers, godmothers, and forms of prayer used by the church of England, as popery and superstition : but their eyes being but once touched, they saw men as trees ; not perceiving that sprinkling of infants is popery, an antichristian invention, as well as the other ; which remaining unreformed by your first reformers, hath passed unto you of this present age, by tradition, still unreformed."

After some further close conversation, the invisible power of the divine everlasting truth of God being over all, we took them kindly by the hands, and they us, with mutual good wishes on both sides ; and so we parted with them in friendship, and in great peace in the Lord.

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We went from hence by Milford to Newhaven, where alighting for a refreshment, I had a concern to pray before we ate; which several persons in the house took notice of, to the advantage of our profession; they, as many others, having been misinformed, that we never prayed, or gave thanks on such occasions. After using endeavours to have a meeting in this place, but without success, the magistrate not favouring it, we proceeded on our journey to Rhode-Island and Boston; near which, on a green, we observed a pair of gallows; and being told that was the place where several of our friends had suffered death for the truth, and had been there thrown into a hole, we rode a little out of the way to see it, and as we sat on horseback by the pit; we were drawn into right silence, by the awful, yet life-giving presence of the Lord, which there graciously visited us together, and raised our minds, though in deep humility, over that evil spirit which murdered our friends.

From Boston we went to Lynn, Salem, and Hampton; here we had a meeting among a considerable number of young convinced friends, who had embraced the truth, for the most part, by the gospel ministry of Jonah Taylor, who had been in those parts some time before us; and the Lord gave us a comfortable season among them and others there assembled. Next day we went to Dover, and from thence to Salisbury and Salem, returning to Hampton, and had a pretty large meeting; the sum of my testimony being against that "drowsy, lukewarm, indifferent spirit, which had overtaken some; with an exhortation to the old convinced, not to rest in that condition, lest they might lose their crowns, and become stumbling blocks in the way of the weak then under convincement; and to the young, that they should mind the Lord alone; and that if they should espy any thing amiss in any one, who had for a long or short time professed the truth, either in conversation, or in meetings; whether in the
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vanity of one, or indifference of the other; or in coming to meeting, or negligence when in them, they should not look out at the failings of others, but to the Lord for help; to whom we must all stand or fall, and answer for ourselves, and not for another."

Though at first my concern was a little hard, we had a tender time in the melting truth; several, both young and old, being broken: and I went away well and easy, blessed be the Lord for ever! After this, I went to Cachecah, and Dover; and on the 1st of 6th month had a large good meeting at Aimsbury; in the conclusion of which, one Josiah Ring expressed a dissatisfaction about some things we hold in religion, which occasioned some conversation on various subjects before the people.

He objected to this principle which we profess, viz. "That Christ dwells in his people;" and to prove the absurdity of it, as he thought, brought that scripture, where Thomas and the apostles, doubting of the bodily appearance of Christ after his resurrection, the Lord said to them, "*A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.*" Now, saith he, since Christ hath flesh and bones, as we have, how can he be in every one of you?

Upon this I desired the people to be still, and said, "This man's imagination, concerning Christ's being in his people, is very gross and carnal, and not at all as we understand it; for we speak of the light and spirit of Christ (which discovers sin in men, good and evil, right and wrong in matters of religion; and leads into all truth, and out of all error, in things respecting our own salvation, as the same is received, believed in, and obeyed) and not of his human body: but as the body of the sun is at a great distance in the open firmament, yet his light and influence shines over and affects all the earth, and into many thousands of houses, and places at the same time; and in what proportion the light shineth into any house, by the same proportion

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tion is the virtue, influence, and power of the sun there dispensed: and so, and infinitely more, it is with Christ, whose holy body, though far remote from us, yet his spirit is every where, in all hearts; and he is the *Word of God*, and *true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world*; * *the mystery which hath been hid from ages and generations, but is now made manifest to his saints: to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles* (of whose offspring we are) which is, *Christ in you, the hope of glory.*"

After some further conversation with him, in which he shewed great confusion, he went out of the company; and soon after a sober young man came to me, and said, "I have heard what you said this day in the meeting, and many things I liked; but one thing I am not satisfied in; that which you call spiritual, I call natural; You said, that which reproves sin in mankind is sufficient for salvation, provided it be believed in and obeyed; which I cannot receive: for that scripture will be against you, where it is said, † *When the Gentiles, which have not a law, do by nature the things contained in the law; these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves, which shew the work of the law written in their hearts.*"

"Now," said he, "that which reproves sin, the Gentiles had before Christ came, even from the beginning: how then can that be the spirit of Christ, but only the law, the same that reproves men now? It is the remains of that righteousness that was in Adam, in his state of creation, before he fell." I answered, "That if he rightly considered that righteousness which was in Adam before he fell, it is the same which the saints and people of God now have, after they are restored out of the fall. The better to understand this, let us observe what John the Evan-

* Col. i. 26, 27.

† Rom. ii. 14.

gelist saith concerning Christ the Word of God: * *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. In him was life, and the life was the light of men; and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth. And of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace. For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.*

“The word, wisdom, and power of God therefore, clothed and veiled with a reasonable soul, and human flesh, is Jesus Christ, born into this world by the blessed Virgin Mary: this Word is the righteousness of God, which was light and wisdom in Adam before he fell; and by whom God judged and condemned Adam for sin, in disobeying and departing from this word, light, and life, through unbelief and actual transgression: it was by the light and life of this Word, that God, the Father of all, strove with the old world, to reclaim them, as by a law written in them, and against which they likewise rebelled; whereby the Almighty was provoked at length to destroy them by a flood, save righteous Noah (who had not offended) and his family.

“And, after the flood, the same law of light and life was still with and in the posterity of Noah and his family, by which they had the knowledge of God, of the creation, and of moral righteousness; and to which, being obedient, they were ruled and governed thereby for a time: it was by this divine nature in their hearts, and not by their own fallen and corrupt nature, that they did the things contained in the moral law; but by degrees they likewise degenerated, as

* John i. 1. &c.

the old world did, and departed from the law of light which gave them that knowledge; * *Because, that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God; neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and departing from that light, their foolish hearts were darkened, and they became darkness.* And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them up to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient. In the mean time, God made choice of Abraham and his posterity, in whom to restore this law of light and life. And to the children of Israel being in bondage, God added the law of moral righteousness, by the mediation of Moses, his servant, written on tables of stone by the finger of God, which the people received as reasonable and good; yet, being inwardly departed from the light and life of the Divine Word, that outward law could not give them life, but condemnation; for they could not keep it, in the state they were in: and therefore the Almighty, in justice and mercy, restored to them a manifestation of the same word, and light and life in him. This is the eternal word and commandment of God, preached by Moses in that day unto Israel in the wilderness, of whom he saith, † *This commandment, which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee; neither is it far off: it is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us into heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.*

“In this manner was Christ preached by Moses many ages before he came in the flesh; and, after he

* Rom. i. 21.

† Deut. xxx. 11, &c.

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did so come, was preached in the same way by the apostle Paul; for the same that Moses preached as the commandment and the word, the apostle calleth Christ, and the word of faith which they preached; and which they knew no more after the flesh, after they had preached him come in the flesh; but, consequently, as he is the *word of God, light of the world, divine truth, and quickening spirit.*

“ And again, * *All Israel did eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink (for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ):* and this is also the same of which he speaketh, where he saith, † *Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.*

“ And ‡ *in the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this spake he of the spirit, which they that believe on him should receive; for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified.*

“ But the Jews rebelled against the light, spirit, and word of God, so preached unto them by Moses; and therefore the law without could not save them: yet the righteous and most merciful Creator did not forsake them for ever, but opened a door of hope by his gracious promises, that they might believe and obey when they came to pass: § *Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; but this shall be the covenant, I will put my law in their inward parts,*

* 1 Cor. x. 3, 4.
§ Jer. xxxi. 31, 32.

† John iv. 14.

‡ Ibid. vii. 37, &c.

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and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Again, I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me.

“ And the Almighty remembered likewise the apostate and benighted Gentiles, promising unto them also the same law and covenant of light, by the same mediator ; * *I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thy hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles. And he said, it is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel ; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth.*

“ Now this covenant, and the messenger thereof, is the same, of whom it is said to the Jews, † *Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign : Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.* And to both Jews and Gentiles, ‡ *Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect in whom my soul delighteth. I have put my spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles.*

“ This is he, of whom it was said, seven hundred years before he came, § *Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulders.* Who spake unto the Father in spirit, saying, *Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not ; but a body hast thou prepared me.* This is the Lord Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, who, by command of the Father, wrought all those wonders attributed to him in the Holy Scriptures, and offered himself upon the cross, at Jerusalem, *a propitiation for the sins of the whole world.* This is the light of the Gentiles, in whom they are to believe and trust ; the mediator of the new covenant, not of works, but of light and life from

* Isa. xlii. 6. xlix. 6.

† Ibid. vii. 14.

‡ Ibid. xlii. 1.

§ Ibid. ix. 6.

God; not that which is natural, but eternal. The true witness of God; the finger and power of God, by which he writeth and restoreth the law of righteousness; the law of the spirit of life, which makes free from the law of sin and death; and which the law without, given by Moses, could not do. This was the law and word of life that was in Adam before he fell. The divine, immortal, and unchangeable truth of God, which *reproves the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment*, that manifests sin in all mankind; and, for want of faith, love, and obedience to this divine law, light, and word of God, the faithless and disobedient world remains in condemnation by that word: as saith the Son of God, * *He that believeth on him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.*

“And as the mystery of iniquity began to work in the days of the apostles, so there were many antichrists even then in the world, who went out from the apostles, and their doctrine, and from the teaching of the grace and spirit of God, the holy anointing which teacheth all things; they turned their ears from the truth, and gave ear to fables, heaping to themselves teachers after their hearts lusts, having itching ears; they went back under the law of types, which was ended by the law of liberty, through Christ Jesus our Lord.”

During the time that passed on these subjects, the people were very sober; and the young man, being deeply under the effects of a wrong education and

* John iii. 18, 19, &c.

tradition,

tradition, replied, "That faith in this light cannot be sufficient; for except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

"That is true; but seeing we must be born again, we cannot do that of ourselves; there is none that can do it for us but God: and he doth that great work by the word of his wisdom and power, which is Christ, the light of the intellectual world; the sun of righteousness, and glorious luminary of the mind: we are to believe in him, that we may be born again of him, who is the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quickening spirit; as it is written, *While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light; and if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ.* But it reasonably followeth, that if no faith in this divine light, then no children of God through him who is that light, and elect seed of God; and if not children, then not heirs of God, nor of his promises; which are all unto this divine seed, and all true in him: and if we do not believe in the word of God, we cannot please him, nor be created anew unto good works by him; which are indispensable unto every child of God, as the evidence of that faith, and work of regeneration in the mind: * *To be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord.* Christ testifieth of himself, *That he is the light of the world;* and the apostles of Christ were sent by him, to testify, that God is light, and to turn mankind from darkness to that light; from the power of Satan unto God; from that darkness and ignorance which had covered the earth, and from that gross darkness which had covered the people, unto the Son of God, and unto the Father by him. So then, in order to our being born from above, there must first be faith in Christ, as he is the divine light, and second covenant of God; and

* Rom. viii. 6.

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the first work in this light in man toward that faith, is the manifestation, reproof, and condemnation of sin in the heart, mind, and understanding of man: *For all things that are reprov'd are made manifest by the light; for (after the manner of men) whatsoever doth make manifest is light.*

“Thus the testimonies of the Holy Scriptures concur clearly to the truth of this most needful doctrine, that the reprover of sin in the mind and understanding of man, is not man himself; neither is it the evil one, who tempts man to sin: for then he would be both tempter and reprovcr, and divided against himself; and even that way his kingdom and power could not stand: but it is the divine light and spirit of Christ, that sin may be manifested, reprov'd, become exceeding sinful, and condemned; and, through faith in the manifestcr and reprovcr, be forsaken, pardoned, remitted, and by the work of the Holy Spirit of Christ fully removed, and the minds of mankind purified, and made lucid as the day, and formed into light in the Lord.”

In the conclusion of this I felt the weight removed from off my spirit, and the love and goodness of truth to arise towards the young man; and he took me kindly by the hand, and said, “He had other points to have discoursed, but would now leave them.” But I believe the main objection was removed, for he departed chearful: some others also, who seem'd to have had something to say, when they had heard these things, were silent; and all ended in peace, to the glory of the Lord, whose service and honour, and the common good of mankind, through the grace of God, we only aim at in all these things.

We spent some time in these parts, and went to Boston, Lynn, Scituate, to Rhode-Island, and through the colony of Connecticut. At some places we met with opposers, and had occasion to vindicate the truth against the slanders of some envious persons.

At

At Tinning we had a meeting on occasion of a marriage, where some Ranters came, and made a disturbance; one of them stood up, and bare his testimony, as he called it, against our set forms; and cried for liberty to the oppressed seed, Which, said he, is oppressed with your forms: meaning the manner of the celebration of our marriages, generally approved by mankind as the most decent of all. Now that which those Ranters would be at, is a liberty to all that profess truth, to do what they list without being reformed, or accountable to any person or people: for, say they, to be accountable to man is bondage; and for man to judge is vain, since those actions he may censure, may be done in the motion of the holy seed and spirit of Christ: under which pretence they would cover many lewd and vile practices, by reason whereof we had sometimes been upbraided and reproached in Connecticut colony, where some of them in times past had appeared under the name of Quakers. We said not much to them, truth being over them; and the meeting ended well.

We went after this to Jericho, Jerusalem, and other places, having meetings; at Newtown we had a meeting, in which friends were much affected with trouble at the account given by my companion Roger Gill, in his testimony, of many being taken away at Philadelphia by a pestilential fever, then greatly prevalent, ten being buried in one day, and four died on the same day; several of them being good friends; his testimony was by way of warning to friends in that meeting, to be prepared to meet the Lord, if peradventure the stroke of his hand might reach those parts. And then Samuel Jennings reminded the meeting, that it was no new nor strange thing for the people of God to suffer in common calamities: but the love and favour of God being assured to them, whether life or death ensued, as it might best please the Lord, there was no occasion of fear, or to be dismayed at such things, especially

especially to those who were prepared, as the apostle, when he said, *For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.* And that, since a translation through death to life is the exceeding great gain of the saints, we have no ground to repine at the loss of their society here, though most grateful, but rather patiently and with diligence wait upon the Lord, till it may become our own lot.

From this time my companion was very desirous of going to Philadelphia to the distressed friends; but I kept to our purpose, settled before we heard of their condition and exercise. We went to New-York, Woodbridge, and Burlington, being met in the way by some friends from thence, here we heard more and more of the sad effects of the pestilential distemper still prevailing at Philadelphia. My companion went from hence directly to Philadelphia, and after having some meetings in the way, I arrived there, and found him well, but many friends on their sick and dying pillows; yet much of the settled, remaining presence of the Lord was with them at that time: such is the goodness of God to his people, that in their bodily, or any other afflictions, his holy presence greatly abates the exercises of nature, by its divine consolation.

O the love that flowed in my soul to several in the times of my visits to them! in which I was lifted over all fear of the contagion, and yet not without an awful regard toward the Lord therein. In this distemper had died six or seven, and sometimes eight a day, for several weeks together; and the yearly meeting being to begin there next day, we had some exercise and consultation about it, arising from the prevalency of the distemper in the city at that time; and yet not much in the country. Some friends had therefore wrote from Burlington, proposing to friends at Philadelphia that the meeting should be adjourned to a cooler time; to which it was answered, "That till the meeting was come together, they had no power to adjourn; but
" thought

“thought it might do well to discourage, in all places,
“the great numbers of young people and servants that
“usually come to town on those occasions; and such
“only to come as were necessarily concerned in the
“service of the meetings, because of the great infec-
“tion, and incapacity of friends and inns in the town,
“at such a juncture, to lodge and entertain them, there
“being few (if any) houses free from the sickness.”

In the morning meeting of ministers and elders, on the seventh day of the week, at Philadelphia, we were under great concern about holding of the meeting in the usual time generally known, or whether better to suspend it; and as we waited on the Lord for counsel, the testimony of truth went generally against the adjournment, or suspension; and the Lord's presence was greatly with us to the end, though some opposition we met with from the prudentially wise men among us then present, who consulted their own reason, but not the truth; who hath all power, and can do and prevent what he pleaseth.

Accordingly the next day, being the first of the week, the meeting was held, and was large, all circumstances considered; and the Lord so evidently appeared with us, that there was no room left for doubt, but that it was his will we should hold our meeting, and serve God therein, as well in time of adversity and affliction as in prosperity, and less seeming danger.

Friends were generally much comforted in the divine truth, and the fear of the contagion was much taken away, and the testimony of truth was exceeding glorious in several instruments, and over the meeting in general, and so continued to the end; which was the first, second, and third days for worship, and the fourth for business; which was managed in wisdom and unanimity, and ended in sweetness and concord: as becomes all meetings of the people of God everywhere.

But

But that which was very remarkable, was, that though the distemper was very raging and prevalent all the week before, yet there was not one taken ill during the whole time of the meeting, either of those who came there on that occasion, or of the people of the town, that could be remembered by such friends as made observation; and yet presently after there were many taken ill thereof in town, and several died, but few in comparison of what had died before; and a little after that, it was finally stopped by the good hand of Divine Providence.

My companion and I both remained in town for some time, visiting the sick friends, as we found necessary or expedient: and great was the presence of the love of God with this people, in the midst of this trying visitation; which gave us occasion to say, *Good is the Lord, and greatly to be feared, loved and obeyed*; for though he suffers afflictions to come upon his own chosen people, in common with other men; yet that, which otherwise would be intolerable, is made as nothing, by how much the sense thereof is swallowed up and immersed in his divine love. O the melting love! O the immortal sweetness I enjoyed with several, as they lay under the exercise of the devouring evil (though unspeakably comforted in the Lord): let my soul remember it, and wait low before the Lord to the end of my days! Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord! Great was the fear that fell upon all flesh! I saw no lofty or airy countenance; nor heard any vain jesting, to move men to laughter; nor witty repartee, to raise mirth; nor extravagant feasting, to excite the lusts and desires of the flesh above measure: but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar, and numbered to the grave. But the just appeared with open face, and walked upright in the streets, and rejoiced in secret, in that perfect love that casteth out fear;

fear; and sang praises to him who liveth and reigneth, and is worthy for ever! being resigned unto his holy will in all things; saying, *Let it be as thou wilt, in time and eternity! now and for evermore.* Nor love of the world, nor fear of death, could hinder their resignation, abridge their confidence, or cloud their enjoyments in the Lord.

My companion now was taken ill, and appeared to be under symptoms of the common distemper. Some meetings being appointed, I could not stay with him; and though he told me, when I took leave of him, he was pretty easy, and not very ill; yet I departed under a great load upon my spirit, and suspected the worst, for he had prayed in the yearly meeting with great zeal and earnestness, "That the Lord would be pleased to accept of his life as a sacrifice for his people, that a stop might be put to the contagion;" and therein appeared his great love and concern for friends, whom he had come so far to see.

I went to Burlington, and had a pretty large meeting at John Shin's; and returning to Philadelphia, in a few days, I found my companion very ill, and my concern for the yearly meeting in Maryland increasing, it came very near to me to leave him in these circumstances: but having duly considered every part, and finding I could not be of much service to him, I took leave of him, though not without being greatly affected; and in the company of several friends set forward for Maryland, having meetings in the way, and the Lord's comfortable presence was with us, to the praise of his own holy name, who liveth, and is worthy to reign for ever! In about a week's time I had the afflicting news of the death of my companion, Roger Gill, at Philadelphia; at which my soul was greatly bowed, and my heart tendered, so that the ground whereon I sat was watered with my tears; in the conclusion whereof I was fully satisfied he had obtained a crown of everlasting peace with the Lord, and that his

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memory

memory should not rot, nor his living testimony fall in those American parts, wherein we had laboured together, from Carolina to New-England; where many hearts had been tendered by him, and souls comforted, and several convinced; and all through that divine power by which he is now raised to glory, to sing praises to him who sitteth on the throne, and ruleth, and reigneth, and is alone worthy, for ever and ever! Amen!

This afforded matter of deep humiliation, and consideration, how long and often the Lord had spared me, and to what end; since I have no interest in the world, nor any thing for the enjoyment whereof I could desire to live; but that it may please the Lord and giver of life to spare mine, till I may be more fit to appear with my accounts before him.

We went to the yearly meeting at Choptank: to one of the meetings came an episcopal priest, and with him several justices of the peace, a colonel, and a great company of gentry, of both sexes; and a mighty great croud of people there was. Many things opened in my mind, which there I delivered: "Of the fall of man through temptation, unbelief, and disobedience; of the love and mercy of God still towards him; of the various dispensations of God for the restoration of man, viz. the manifestations and strivings of the Spirit of God with the old world; the law of Moses; the ceremonial, and judicial or civil parts of it; of Christ, the antitype of all the figures, and fulfiller of them, and of the whole law, first in himself, and then in all who believe in him, and obey; of the life, death, sufferings, resurrection, ascension, glorification, and intercession of Christ; of his dying as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world; of universal, saving grace by him; of the faith of the Gentiles in him, the word that took flesh, and is the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world; that makes a discovery of sin in the understandings of mankind, and
reprove

reproves them for it in secret, when no man can accuse: of the baptism of John, and of Christ's baptism; the former with water unto repentance, proposing Christ, not then made manifest, as the object of faith, when come, or manifested; and the latter with the Holy Spirit; how the apostles of Christ fell in with John in the administration of water baptism, not in the name of one to come, or unknown, but in the name of Jesus, whom they declared to be the Messiah, for the remission of sins; with many other particular things for the clearing of that subject." During all which the people were very still and attentive; and the meeting ended in peace without interruption.

After a meeting at Little Choptank, we had some discourse with a justice of peace, and a lawyer; and informed them further concerning our principles, and particularly of our sentiments concerning human government; of our loyalty, and inoffensive demeanour under all governments, in any form, actively, or passively; and that where active obedience could not be yielded, when any thing contrary to our religion and consciences, and duty to God, was commanded or required by any law, then submission was never wanting, nor refused, though to the loss of all.

Upon this an attorney at law asserted, "That all men were bound in conscience to give active obedience to all laws made by the legislature of any government where they lived;" but offered no reason for his opinion. I answered, "That according to this all the faithful primitives were wrong, who never complied with the laws of the Heathens made against them and their religion; but suffered cruel deaths, in confessing the true God, and the Lord Jesus, especially under the two emperors, in the tenth general persecution: and thereby he condemned all the Protestants, and others, as worthy of those punishments inflicted upon them by Papists, on account of their religious sentiments,

sentiments, being contrary to their national and ecclesiastical laws, to which those sufferers could not, because of their known duty to God and Christ, give any active, but only passive, obedience and non-resistance, though inflicted by the force of the statute, *De Hæretico Comburendo*; whereby many of the people of the nation, who were then of the same religion of the present national church, were destroyed. And if they ought to have given active obedience to that, and such other persecuting laws, then their blood was upon their own heads, being justly shed for their disobedience; which would be a very severe and unchristian opinion, and therefore to be rejected; and being attended with such consequences, thou wouldst do well to lay it aside, and entertain it no more."

Aaron Atkinson being now with me, we went to Nanticoke River, Minny Creek, Muddy Creek, and other places in these parts, having meetings in a good degree to our comfort and satisfaction, till we came to Philadelphia. I remained here till the 2d of the 11th month, and then went in company of the governor, and other friends, to a general meeting at Haverford, among the Welch; wherein we met with great refreshment, and comfort in the good presence of the Lord.

After this I was at other places, as German Town, Darby, New-Town, New-York, &c. and had meetings. And on the 19th of the 12th month I went to Burlington, where we met with William Penn, to our mutual satisfaction; on the 21st I went to a three-weeks meeting at Joshua Humphrey's, on Northampton River; on the 26th to a quarterly meeting at William Beedle's, at Mount Hope; it was large, and the Lord was pleased to own us with his good presence. At this meeting, a woman, who had been deceived by George Keith, and followed him in his apostasy from the truth, acknowledged her outgoings with many tears, and her great loss of the consolation she had

had formerly enjoyed in the good presence of the Lord among his people ; and, in great humility, tenderness, and true repentance, desired to be restored, and accepted again into unity with friends : she was accordingly accepted, and restored in the spirit of meekness and love, to her great satisfaction, and likewise that of friends.

On the 31st I returned again to Philadelphia. Having, through the grace of God, thus finished the visit to friends and others in those northern parts of English America (which had been incumbent upon me for some years before I came from Europe) and ready to return to England, my true and honourable friend, William Penn, finding the affairs of his province very much embarrassed, and perplexed several ways ; and the respect he bore me as a friend, suggested to him an opinion of greater abilities in such matters than I was endued with ; he became very importunate with me to remain there for some time, to give him what assistance I could therein : and to the like purpose I had letters from several judicious friends of my acquaintance, both in England and Ireland ; who were concerned for the honour of truth, with regard to the just and reputable settlement of affairs in Pennsylvania ; which had been in much disorder a long time, by reason of the absence of the proprietor ; occasioned by the many and great persecutions and troubles he had been under, on various accounts, for many years, not only in England, but likewise in his own province, by false brethren, and an apostate company ; who deserted the truth of God, and equity, with that wilful transgressor, George Keith.

I having a very great love and respect for the proprietor, and not under any engagement in myself to return immediately to England ; and seeing I might probably be of some service there, and elsewhere in America, on several accounts, by staying for some time ; and the friends in the country being also gene-

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rally,

trally desirous I should, my companion having departed this life, I consented to stay so long as I might see it in my place; and being altogether unengaged in any business, and a proper subsistence necessary, the governor appointed me to be a member of the council of state of the province; but as there was not any income or advantage arising thereby, but loss of time, and divers fatigues, exercises, and troubles attending that place of empty honour, he made me keeper of the great seal, master of the rolls for the recording of all patents, and of the other office for the enrolling of deeds, and one of his commissioners of property, for enquiring into and confirming old rights, and granting lands upon new purchases; with proviso in my patent for those offices, to have deputies therein respectively, when, and so often as my calling in the truth, and service thereof, might require it; and the rest of the commissioners of property, being persons of integrity, were always to be my deputies in the office of the seal. And the governor, knowing me himself, did not insist upon any other security from me than my own word, to be faithful in those several posts, and to execute those offices truly: under these circumstances I settled there for a time, and fell also into much business in my own way of conveyancing. And besides, before the proprietor returned to England, which was in about two years after his arrival in the country, he granted a charter to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and thereby erected the town into a city or corporation, with divers ample privileges, and appointed me the first recorder thereof in the original patent; but being averse to that station, I resigned it as soon as the corporation was regularly settled, and habituated to their business.

These offices not obliging me to any close confinement to the various business of them, I visited the meetings, from time to time, in town and country, and also in the Jerseys, as opportunity offered, and need

need required, until the 15th of 5th month, 1702, and then went for Long-Island, where I had meetings to a considerable degree of comfort and satisfaction. At Fairfield I had a large meeting, and a good time among the people; some of the heads of what I had to say were after this manner:

"For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow; and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart: neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight; but all things are naked, and open unto the eyes of him, with whom we have to do."

"That this word is Christ, in his divine and spiritual appearance in the hearts of mankind; of which the evangelist bears testimony, *That he was in the beginning with God, and was God*; that all things were made by him; that in him was life, and the life was the light of men; that he is the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world; that he was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not: and that this divine word was made flesh, (or assumed the proper nature of man, a reasonable soul, and human body) and dwelt among them, full of grace and truth; and of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace. This is the only begotten Son of God, to whom all mankind are directed by the Father, according to the prophet of old, where he saith,—Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine Elect in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. Thus saith God the Lord, he that created the heavens, and stretched them out; he that spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it; he that giveth breath to the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein; I the Lord have called thee, in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep

keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of *the people,*
for a light of the Gentiles.

“ This is he, the same who was crucified in the flesh at Jerusalem, according to the testimony of holy writ, and as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world. This is he, who being promised a light to the Gentiles, and all directed unto him as such, as to the saving object of their faith, and covenant of light and life with the Father; all must believe in him, obey and follow him in the way of regeneration, or else they cannot have salvation by him: as it is also written, ‘ *By grace ye are saved, through faith;* and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God. Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly *through Jesus Christ our Saviour.*’

“ And as the Son of God hath already told us, that *a good man*, out of the good treasure of the heart, bringeth forth good things; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure of the heart, bringeth forth evil things: but I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof in the day of judgment: for by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou *shalt be condemned.* And all at last must be judged according to their works. Let us therefore take the advice of the apostle, where he saith, *Let no corrupt communication* proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace *unto the hearers;* and do likewise that which is good in the sight of God and good men.”

I went from this place to Flushing, Oyster Bay, &c. having meetings. At Westbury, being the quarterly meeting, we had good service; and the business of the meeting being all finished, the day following, being the first of the week, the Lord, in the riches of his goodness,

goodness, gave us a glorious meeting in his presence; many hundreds of friends, and abundance of other people were there, and generally satisfied; many things of importance in religion being clearly opened by the wisdom and power of truth that day; to the praise of the holy name of the living Lord, who alone is worthy for ever!

On the 7th of the 7th month I came by Burlington to Philadelphia, where, having ordered my affairs, visited some meetings in the country, and attended the service of the yearly meeting. I went to the yearly meeting at Shrewsbury, in East Jersey, to which a message came in writing from George Keith (who was now become of the national church, and had taken deacon's orders) challenging friends to meet him, and answer to his charges of error that he had to make against us. To which we replied, "That as he had begun to print against us, we should, as hitherto, answer him that way: which appeared to us best, for general information, and least liable to misunderstandings, misrepresentations, and exceptions."

After the meeting at Shrewsbury, I returned to Philadelphia, and remained in my business; and, at proper times and seasons, attended the meetings in Pennsylvania and West Jersey, as I found concern and ability, until the 29th of 12th month, 1703-4, and then began a journey from Philadelphia for New-England, on the service of the truth; that night I lodged at Burlington, and next day was at a meeting there; from thence went to Croswickton and Woodbridge, &c. into Long-Island, where, this year, our friend, Samuel Bownas, being come over from England to visit friends in America, in his testimony, had spoken against the error of sprinkling infants; and concerning what are called the sacraments; of which the governor of New-York and Long-Island, having been informed, had arbitrarily put him in prison, at a place called Jamaica, in the island, where he was confined, without

without any law, about twelve months; and at this place I had a meeting appointed, which was large, very open, and well.

On the 16th of 1st month I was at Flushing, and after at Westchester, Fairfield, Killingsworth, where I had some discourse with a stranger about predestination. He affirmed, that God, from eternity, hath pre-ordained some men personally to destruction, and that the number is so certain and definite, that not one can be added or diminished; and that Christ did not die for them, but for the elect only.

To which I answered, that Christ himself is the elect seed; and is the propitiation, not for himself, for he had no sin, but for the sins of the whole world: This he denied.

Then I told him, "he denied the testimony of the apostle John in that point, where he saith, *He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world; for all have sinned, and fallen short of the glory of God.* And if there had been such a decree, or personal fore-ordination, it must be the will and desire of God that it should be so; and seeing Christ suffered as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, he suffered for those who were determined to destruction (if such there had been) as well as for those ordained unto life; but to no purpose as to the former, and God doth nothing in vain.

"But that God doth not will or desire the eternal death of any, appears, where the Lord saith, *'Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die, saith the Lord God? and not that he should return from his ways, and live. Say unto them, as I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live: Turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways; for why will you die, O house of Israel? When the righteous turneth from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, he shall even die thereby. But if the wicked turn from his wickedness,* and

and do that which is lawful and right, he shall live thereby.'

"Here, and in many other places, in that prophecy, the Lord places the destruction of man upon his own will, and not upon any act, or decree of God; where he likewise saith, *O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thy help.* And again, it is testified by an apostle of Christ, that *God, our Saviour, will have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth;* and, that *Jesus Christ gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.* Therefore I believe God, and deny that predestination as false doctrine."

In the evening we passed over the great river Sea-brook, or Connecticut River, and lodged that night at an inn kept by one Richard Lands, an Independent by profession; where some young people were singing, fiddling, and dancing, when we went to the door, but as soon as they saw us, they desisted, and departed: which gave occasion for some discourse concerning the state of that people when they first came into that country, and the degeneracy of that generation; which he readily confessed was their unhappy state.

On the 25th of 1st month we set forward, and that night lodged at one Sexton's, at Stonington, and in the evening he began some discourse about their sacraments, asking our reasons for the disuse of them, upon which I gave him several, viz. "The bread and cup being incidents of the Jewish passover, and typical of Christ himself, who is the antitype, and the true living bread which comes down from heaven; as soon as men experience him to be so in their hearts, all obligations cease as to our continuance any longer in the figure, as it is written: *As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew the Lord's death till he come.* Now the question arises, what is meant by his coming? We understand it of his second, inward, or spiritual coming without sin unto salvation, in all them who believe and wait for him in all ages: and this we, through

through the goodness and mercy of God, do experience to be true, that he is come in that blessed and saving manner in us ; and therefore the obligation of the use of the bread and cup, in the sense in which ye now use it, being at an end to us, we disuse it : and moreover as it was the Jews passover, never incumbent on us the Gentiles ; and fulfilled by Christ, it is not obligatory on us. And being the last passover, when Christ gave them the cup, he said, *Take this and divide it among yourselves ;* but did not command them to give it, or the bread to others. And further, as the apostle Paul was a true minister of Christ, to all necessary intents, not one whit behind the chief of the apostles, and yet was not sent by Christ to baptize with water, but to preach the gospel ; so likewise, though we, in our day, have a dispensation of the same gospel, in some degree, committed unto us of the Lord, to preach his inward coming, yet we have no commandment from him to administer such bread or cup, or water baptism in any form ; nor do we believe that any others have it at this day ; and therefore we justly and reasonably decline, either to administer or receive them."

As he could not oppose us herein himself, he brought out a Bible, printed with notes, and having read the annotations on the last chapter of Matthew, about baptism, they appeared so impertinent, that himself would not assert the truth of them, or insist upon it ; but after some time was silent on the point, I having proved to him that there is but one only baptism remaining in the church of Christ, and that is, his baptism by his Holy Spirit. In some further discourse, I had occasion to speak of their ministers, "and how they were made, and sent by one another only, and not by Christ ; and though called by the people, not always by their inclinations, but by the subtilty and management of those ministers, and their aiders, accomplices, and parties ; and that their first view and general

ral aim was, to live upon them; and that when the ministers had places, they would exchange them for better, without any regard to the people: though they commonly deceive the weak and ignorant with pretending a mission from Christ, by the words in Matthew, where he said to the eleven disciples, *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in (or rather into) the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c.* notwithstanding they commonly take up at the next town that will entertain them for hire and pay, and baptize none, but only sprinkle little children, who do not need it, nor does it them any good. So that they do not answer their pretended call in any respect." This put our landlord to a stand, and made him silent; and we had little more conference on those subjects, but all ended in friendship.

On the 27th we went over the Sound into Canonicut-Island, and lodged that night with our ancient and honourable friend, and able minister of the gospel, Ebenezer Slocomb; and on the 28th went into Rhode-Island, to the monthly meeting at Newport.

This being a time of war with France, the governor of New-England was preparing to invade Canada, a French colony on the same continent; and there being many friends, at that time, within that government, who could not bear arms on any account, as being contrary to our conscience, and sentiments of the ~~end~~ and nature of the Christian religion, which teacheth not to destroy, but to love our enemies; and the people of New-England, willing to take advantage of the occasion to oppress us, made a law to this effect: "That such of the inhabitants of that government, as being qualified, or able to bear arms, and regularly summoned, should refuse, they should be fined; and refusing to pay the fine, should be imprisoned, and sold; or bound to some of the queen's subjects within that colony, for so long a time as by their work they might pay their fines and charges."

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On the 29th we went to an appointed meeting at Bristol, on the Main, where two of our young men, viz. John Smith and Thomas Macamore were prisoners; being impressed by virtue of this law to fight against the French and Indians, under the government of Boston. The meeting was in the prison, and several of the people came in, and some were tender: after the meeting, having exhorted the young men to faithfulness, we went in the evening back into Rhode-Island, and next day to Newport, to their week day meeting, where I was much comforted in the divine truth in my own mind, but had no publick exercise. On the 31st I rested there; and, going to see one Benjamin Newbury, a man in reputation for wisdom, and his wife a friend, I had some discourse with him on various subjects, and more particularly about war, (a topick on which the minds of the people were much exercised at that time) he was silent at last; I then took him by the hand, and advised him not to think to be too wise for the truth; and so left him, and went away in great peace to a friend's house in the town, where came some friends I had left there, who told me, that Benjamin Newbury sat silent some time after I came from his house, and then asked some of them, How a man could be too wise for the truth? to which the friend answered, "That the wisdom of this world being foolishness with God, and the carnal mind enmity against him; men might be so full of it, as, consulting therewith, they might disobey the truth; thinking the way thereof too mean and contemptible to be embraced and followed; and thereby neglect the time of their visitation, being too wise in the wisdom of this world, to embrace truth in the simplicity of it; and yet the truth in itself is wiser, and stronger than all, both men and angels."

That evening we had a meeting at the deputy governor's, which was large, and on the 1st of 2d month I went to visit Daniel Gould, an ancient friend, of the
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primitive sort, who was now confined by lameness, and other infirmities of age ; some of his family were likewise ill of a distemper then prevalent in the island, which to many proved mortal : in relating some passages of truth, his heart was warmed with zeal for the prosperity of it, that we had a comfortable time therein together, he declaring several sound truths in the life of it amongst us. The next day the meeting there was large, and many strangers present. On the 3d I visited some friends near Newport ; and on the 4th had another meeting in the town, which was large, and many strangers there, and I heard of none dissatisfied, save one man, who, being a Papist, took offence at my saying, " The cross of Christ is not a cross of gold or silver, or other metal, or of wood or stone, to be taken up in order to follow him ; but the wisdom and power of God, reproving and crossing the wills and lusts of mankind in their own hearts ; and the way to take it up is to believe in it, and follow it in its manifestations. But as to those invented crosses, how neat soever and prettily contrived, or richly adorned they may be, they are of no value in religion ; for the evil one will tempt men, and prevail over them too, though they cross themselves with their fingers ever so much, or wear ever so many of such crosses."

He bore it so as not to shew any uneasiness in the meeting, but told a friend afterwards, " That he liked all very well except that : " which being told me next day, I sent him word, " that I knew nothing of him in the meeting, nor of his cross ; and therefore desired him to consider the thing further, and not to blame me for doing my duty, seeing it might be for his information, reproof, and reformation, rightly received and used."

After this I was at the meeting at Portsmouth, and Newport, and Bristol, where the two young men were prisoners, being in the prison with them, and many other

other friends present, we were favoured with a good time in the presence and love of God together; and the same evening had a meeting at the house of one Job Howlands. The prisoners not being called before the court that day, Thomas Cornwell and I went to Colonel Byfield's (about a mile from the town) next morning; when we went in he was very boisterous, reproaching friends in general, as a sort of people not worthy to live on the earth; particularly those of Rhode-Island and New-England, who would not go out, nor pay their money to others, to fight against a common enemy so barbarous as are the Indians; wishing us all in the front of the battle until we had learned better; charging us with many errors and heresies in religion by the lump; instancing only in refusing to fight, and believing a sinless perfection in this life.

When he had a little vented his fury, I, being over him in the truth, returned upon him; and said, "I was sorry we should find him in that temper, and that too in his own house, especially on such an occasion; when we being strangers were come only to request a reasonable favour of him, he being judge of the court: and that was to desire him to consider the case of our friends as a matter of conscience towards God, and not of cowardice, nor of obstinacy against rulers or their laws." Upon which he repeated his charges, saying, "That the apostle Paul, a better man than any of us, cried out of a body of sin and death; and that when he would do good, evil was present with him."—Upon this I called for his Bible, and offered to prove out of the same epistle he hinted at, "that the apostle was, at that time, preaching the doctrine of freedom from sin in this life; for though he proves in the same epistle, both Jews and Gentiles under sin, yet he preaches freedom from sin through Christ, to both, even in this present world; and also that war and fighting is contrary both to the doctrine of Christ,
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end of his coming, and nature of his kingdom; and that it was upon his (this judge's) principles, that the Jewish state crucified the Saviour of the world."

Growing a little more calm, he asked us if we had eaten any thing that morning? and we confessing we had not, he called for victuals and drink, and would have us eat with him; and as we were sitting down to eat, he said, "He would not offend us in using any ceremony (meaning what is commonly called grace before meat) knowing we did not like it." I replied, "that though we did not rush into such exercises towards God in our own wills and time, without due consideration and fear, without any sense of the spirit of prayer and supplication upon us; in which state we could not expect to be heard in our own name; yet we never receive the mercies of God, but with due reverence and acknowledgment in our hearts unto him, the great author and giver of them: but that we dare not presume to pray unto the Almighty, till we have a sense of the assistance of the Spirit of his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, the only intercessor and mediator between God and man; since the most holy man that ever was, ought not to bow in his own name or power, but in the name, virtue, and power of Jesus." And so we sat a little while in silence, and then ate and drank with him; and he made us freely welcome. When we had done, he walked to the town with us; and, in the way, we conversed on various subjects; and he said, "He thought it might be well, if we (friends) were all settled in a place by ourselves, where we could not be troublesome to others by our contradictory ways." To which I replied, "That if they should send us out of all countries where we at present reside, into one by ourselves, if such a one could be found, that would not ease them; for more would spring up unavoidably in our places: for what would the world do, if it should lose its salt:

and leaven? it would be in great danger of total corruption." At this the judge looked a little surprized, but made no answer; but his anger being much over, he became more calm and friendly, and told us what he intended to do with the young men our friends; and that was, to send them to the governor at Boston, that seeing they would not fight, nor pay their fine, they might work at the fort, till they had paid it by their labour. We said, "That was hard, it being only a case of conscience with us, in which we ought to obey God, and not man, whatever may be the consequence of it."

Thus conversing together, we walked into the town; and notwithstanding his former passion, being now much altered, he took us kindly by the hands in the street, before many people, when we parted. After this we went to the prison to see the young men; and acquainted them, that we could find little ground to expect any favour, at which they seemed altogether unconcerned, being much resigned to the will of God at that time; and we staid with them in prison most of that day, they not being called into the court till the next afternoon.

The prisoners being brought into court, Thomas Cornwell and I, and many other friends, went in with them; and though we had our hats on, the judge was so far indulgent, as to order us seats, but that our hats should be taken off in a civil manner by an officer. I said, "We did not keep them on with any disrespect to him or the court, (neither did any of us, at any time) but our hats being part of our clothing, we know not any harm, nor intended any affront to the court by keeping them on: and though religion be not in the hat; yet where it is fully in the heart, the honour of the hat is not demanded, or willingly given or received, by the true disciples of him who said, *'I receive not honour from men, but I know you, that ye have not the love of God*

God in you. How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only ?”

The prisoners being at the bar, the judge asked them the reason of their obstinacy (as he called it). The young men modestly replied, it was not obstinacy, but duty to God, according to their consciences, and religious persuasions, which prevailed with them to refuse to bear arms, or learn war. But the judge would not, by any means, seem to admit there was any conscience in it, but ignorance, and a perverse nature; accounting it very irreligious in any who were personally able, and legally required, to refuse their help now in time of war, against enemies so potent and barbarous as the French and Indians; with repeated false charges against us, as a people, saying, “Since we could pay to publick taxes, which we knew were to be applied to the uses of war, why could we not pay those which were by law required of us, instead of our personal service, and to excuse us?”

Then I stood up, and desired leave of the court to speak, which was granted; and said, “If the judge please to keep to the present business of the court, concerning the prisoners, I would, with leave, speak to the point of law, in the case; but if he thought fit to make it his business to continue to charge us as a people with errors in matters of religion, I should think it mine to answer him in the face of the court; publickly, and undue charges, laying a necessity for, and excusing as publick answers; adding that I could give the court a distinction and reason, why we could pay the one tax, and yet not the other. Which most present being desirous to hear, I began with the example of Christ himself, for the payment of a tax, though applied by Cæsar unto the uses of war, and other exigencies of his government; and was going on to shew a difference between a law that directly and principally affects the person in war, requiring personal service, and a
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law which only requires a general tax, to be applied by rulers as they see cause, and affects not the person. For though we readily pay such taxes; yet, as the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, his servants will not fight, though they may and ought to pay taxes according to the example of Christ their head."

The judge, perceiving how inconsistent this would prove to their present purpose, interrupted me; but several of the justices wished to hear me further on the subject.

Then Thomas Cornwell, a friend of good reputation and interest in Rhode-Island, desired them to be careful what precedent they made upon this law; since neither he nor any of us knew what might be the effect of it, or how soon it might be any of our cases; and that it would be very hard upon us to be sold for servants. He then demanded a precedent, where, at any time, in any other of the queen's dominions, any of her subjects ever sold others of them, for the payment of taxes laid by their fellow-subjects, on any pretence whatsoever, where conscience and duty towards God, and Christ the Lord, was the only cause of refusal: adding, that he could never pay any of those taxes, though he should be sold for the payment of them.

Truth came gradually over them, and things grew very heavy upon them, though they still persisted in their own way; at last the court adjourned till towards the evening, and then ordered the young men to be returned to prison, there to remain "till some person or persons appear to pay the sums demanded, or shall tender to take them into service, for such time as the justice and sheriff shall think reasonable; or until the governor, by warrant, shall remove them to the castle near Boston, where they are to work as prisoners for such time, until by their service they pay the sums now due, with other charges that may become due, and then to be released."

Parting

Parting with the prisoners and others in much love, and divine peace, T. Cornwell and I went the same evening to Jos. Wanton's, and there had a meeting; the next day we had a meeting at Seconet, which was very hard and dull, little appearing in testimony but reproof and judgment; and that evening we returned heavy to Jos. Wanton's, where I remained as it were comfortless till the next morning; but sitting down with the family, and the friends who were with me, waiting upon the Lord, his blessed presence overshadowed us, to our general comfort; so that those friends of Rhode-Island there present went chearfully home, and I with the company that went with me, departed thence in like enjoyment, to the praise of our living Lord, the fountain of all our mercies.

Next day we went to Dartmouth, where the meeting was large, and the blessed truth prevailed, to the glory of his great name who liveth and reigneth, and is worthy for ever and ever! From hence we went to Sippycan, and Sandwich, where one Captain Bassett came to us, a man of good temper and understanding as a man, the greatest disputant in those parts for the Presbyterians, against all others. He wanting to see a copy of the judgment against the young men before-mentioned, I took occasion to say, "That Christians ought not to fight, or learn war; and that, whereas, God hath said by his prophets, *It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it, and many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against*

*against nation ; neither shall they learn war any more. O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord.**

“ Upon these scriptures, I observe, That so long as the nation will continue to reject the Lord Jesus Christ, the true light which lighteth every man which cometh into the world (in which the house of Jacob, the true church, walketh) and follow their own corruptions, lusts, and laws made by themselves, to support them therein, they will, from age to age, go on in war and destruction one of another, as well after the coming of Christ in the flesh, as before : yet the true disciples of Christ, his church (which is not national) are those who speak the language of those prophecies in their actions, as well as words and doctrine. They will not fight now in defence of the religion taught by Christ and his prophets and apostles, more than his disciples, in the days of his flesh, would fight for his person. Fighting, in its root and nature, being opposite to Christ, and the end of his coming, who teacheth us to love enemies, and not to destroy them, and came not to destroy the lives of men, but to save them. The language of his followers is, *Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths. And, O house of Jacob, come ye; and let us walk in the light of the Lord: for all people will walk every one in the name of his god, as we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever. And the nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of the Lamb.*”

At the same time, we had some further conference about justification and sanctification, and freedom from sin in this life ; wherein I informed him, “ That the Lord’s way of sanctification and justification, is, to make men just, who were not so ; and holy, who were before defiled with sin.” The Lord Jesus Christ came

* Isa. xi. 2. 5.

not to save men in their sins (~~that cannot be~~) but from them, and all the dreadful effects of them, and to bring them into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

The Captain heard these things spoke of with good temper and solidity, and seemed pretty well satisfied. But before we parted, I said unto him, "That I should be glad to see some of the more moderate sort of their magistrates and ministers, and to discourse with them about religious matters: for I suspect we are not rightly understood in divers points of religion by them." Which by the sequel he bore in mind, though at that time he said not much to it. For some days after, being at Sandwich, I called at his house, where I found assembled a great many friends and others, who had been informed of my intention to be there: soon after I came in, he said, "that there were several of their magistrates present, as likewise their teacher, in consequence of the desire I had expressed to see some of the more moderate sort." To which I answered, by informing them upon what occasion I had expressed this desire, and the subjects the Captain and I had been discoursing; and mentioning that point of freedom from sin in this life, their minister answered, "That it is the duty of every true Christian to aspire after freedom from sin in this life."

I replied, "That seeing he acknowledged that to be a duty, he must, of consequence, own it possible."

He answered, *It is said, "Ye shall be holy; for I, the Lord your God, am holy. And yet who will presume to say, he is as holy as God?"*

"Then, said I, the scripture saith, * *Sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy: for I am the Lord your God. And ye shall keep my statutes, and do them: I am the Lord which sanctify you.* Seeing therefore it is the Lord who sanctifies, his work is perfect, he doth it fully; and what God hath sanctified, let no man call

* Lev. vii. 3.

common or unclean. And God's people (who are so indeed) are a holy people: as it is written, *For thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God.*" I added further, "That we spake not of degrees of holiness, as comparing man with God therein, otherwise than the Lord himself hath done. But as God is absolutely perfect, and infinite in all essential attributes, moral and divine; so there is a holiness applicable to man as a perfect creature of God: * *For in the beginning God created man in his own image, in righteousness and true holiness.* And yet we do not say that man was equal therein to God: even so, man may be truly restored by God, through Christ, to the same holiness, and may and ought to confess it, to the honour of God, without any presumption; seeing that since the fall of man, and before the coming of Christ in the flesh, God hath thus said to his people, *Be ye holy, for I am holy:* which the Lord would not have said, if like holiness with his own had not, through his word, been attainable by them. And so likewise of God's righteousness, as well as his holiness, where it is said, † *Little children, let no man deceive you, he that doth righteousness, is righteous, even as he is righteous.*"

Upon this their minister was silent; but the justices and people being desirous that something further should be moved and debated; it was proposed by Capt. Bassett that we should adjourn to their meeting-house near by, which being complied with, the minister, notwithstanding what had passed before, moved this question, (as thinking himself strongest in that point, in the common opinion of the people into which the priests have deceived them).

"Whether there be a state of freedom from sin attainable in this life? And I, being willing, as the Lord might enable me, to make our doctrine, in that point, plain to the people, assumed the affirmative; and my

* Gen. i. 27. . . † 1 John iii. 7.

opponent

opponent assumed the negative. I then proceeded to prove, after the manner of the apostles Paul and John, first, That all men commonly sin in this life in a state of nature, or are liable thereto by temptation; and then, that the offers of salvation are made by God the Father unto all mankind in Christ the Son of God; and that whosoever does accept of those offers in God's way and time, may not only be saved at last, but freed from sin in this present world.

"Having made it manifest that all are sinners, both Jews and Gentiles, the apostle goes on to preach salvation to all by the Lord Jesus Christ, saying, * *Being justified freely by his grace (which hath appeared unto all men) through the redemption which is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God: which faith must be obtained in this life, or never.*

"The same apostle, in another place, proceeds to set forth freedom from sin in this life likewise by the same Saviour, saying, *As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so, by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life: this free gift is the grace of God which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness, and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world: that, where sin once abounded, grace might much more abound; that as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign, through righteousness, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord. What shall we say then? shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid: how shall we who are dead unto sin live any longer therein? knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin, knowing that Christ being raised from*

* Rom. iii. 24, 25.

*the dead, dieth no more ; death hath no more dominion over him, for in that he died, he died unto sin once ; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord : being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness ; for when ye were the servants of sin ye were free from righteousness : but now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.** Again, after the apostle had brought this doctrine of freedom from sin in this life to a period, under the similitude of the death and resurrection of Christ, and thereby established the certainty of it, he resumes the same doctrine in the beginning of the seventh chapter, under another similitude, and brings it to the like conclusion. *For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sin (or passions) which were (discovered) by the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death ; but now we are delivered from the law, that being dead, (or being dead to that) wherein we were held, that we should serve God in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter. That ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God.*

“ And a third time the apostle proceeds, and insists upon the same doctrine, and establisheth it unalterably the same way : setting forth the power of sin in the flesh (notwithstanding the moral precepts of the law, which prove insufficient until we come unto Christ, or until his power be inwardly revealed, by whom alone full freedom and deliverance from sin in this life, and eternal salvation from the wages thereof in another world, is come) and speaking of himself and the church of Christ at that time, and the state they had been in before they believed in him saith, *When we were in the flesh the motions of sin did work in our members, as above :*

* Rom. v. 20, 21.

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that the knowledge of sin comes by the law ; that sin brings spiritual death ; and being discovered by the commandment, becomes exceeding sinful : that the law is spiritual, but man, in his natural and fallen state, is carnal, a slave to his own corruptions, lusts, and sins. For though the law (which is light, and the commandment, which is a burning lamp) discovers to man his duty, what he ought to do, and leave undone ; yet, through the weakness of nature in its fallen state, and the suggestions of the evil one in the imaginations and carnal mind (no good thing being in the flesh) the apostle, and others under the law, were held captive, and under a long and hard struggle for liberty and victory, but could not obtain it by all the legal precepts, or rational assent unto them, nor by his own learning or natural powers. He delighted in the law of God in his mind ; yet, seeing another law in his members (to be understood as the temptations of the evil one, working in the lusts and corruptions of the carnal mind) warring against the law of his mind, and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin, which was in his members ; and seeing no way of deliverance, by the law of Moses, from sin, he cries out, under a sense of the whole weight, power, force, and body of sin, and saith, *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death ?*

“ Now, though the apostle, in all this, speaks as in the first person, (setting forth the state he had once been in, or rather the state in which the Jews were, who had ~~not~~ believed in Christ) yet it is plain, that neither the apostle himself, nor the true believers and followers of Christ, in that day, were in that state of sin at that time, but redeemed from it : for, after the apostle had thus cried out, *Who shall deliver me from the body of this death !* he immediately, and most comfortably answers, *I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord ;* and adds, *There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the*

*the flesh, but after the spirit; for the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death.**

“The apostle confirms this doctrine, with respect to the present salvation, state, and attainments of the true disciples of Christ in that day, where he saith, *For we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice, and envy, hateful, and hating one another; but after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour.†*

“Which must be done in this life, or else there will be no entering the kingdom of God; for no unclean thing can enter there.

“Having thus shewn how this glorious doctrine of liberty from sin in this life, through Jesus Christ, the Word, Son, Wisdom, and Power of the Father, is preached by this apostle, I proceeded to prove the same doctrine by the authority and testimony of the apostle John, who preached it after the same manner, that it may be established from the mouths of two so great and faithful witnesses.

“First, That all have sinned, and wanted salvation. Secondly, That Christ died for all mankind. And, Thirdly, That all who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and follow him in the regeneration, are not only freed from all sin in this life, but eternally saved in that which is to come.

“He reminds the church what was the testimony of the apostles unto them from the beginning of their preaching of the gospel, and the certainty of it, as what they had heard, seen, and handled of the word

* Rom. viii. 1, 2.

† Tit. iii. 3. 6.

of life; so that they certainly knew, and were witnesses of the truth they delivered unto others, That God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.—They had formerly, in their natural state, been sinners; but having confessed their sins unto the Holy One, who, in love and mercy, convinceth and reproveth the world of sin, then his faithfulness and justice was made manifest in them, not only in the forgiveness of the acts of their sins against his law, but likewise in cleansing them from all the inward pollution of sin and unrighteousness.

“ And seeing God the Father, through Jesus Christ the Son, hath given a saving gift of his divine light, spirit, grace, and truth (which is one, and the same) unto all mankind, to lead, direct, and guide them, as an everlasting, infallible teacher unto all, so whosoever shall believe therein, and repent of their sins, and obey him in his manifestations in their hearts, minds, and understandings, shall be surely led into all truth, and consequently out of all untruth and error; which must be in this life, where sin, untruth, and error only are.

“ And as the knowledge of God and Christ is eternal life; so the evidence of that knowledge is the keeping of his commandments, and the love of the brethren: and whoever pretendeth to that knowledge, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and Christ, who is the truth, is not in him; his sins remain upon him, notwithstanding the sufficiency of the propitiation in its own nature, and to its general and proper end: but whosoever keepeth his word, in him is the love of God perfected; whereby such sanctified souls know, not only that their sins are forgiven them, but that they are in him that is true, in whom there is no sin; and such walk in the way of faithfulness and obedience to the Father in all things; which walking must refer to the Christian conduct in this world, in order to be settled at last in the kingdom of glory;

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glory ; where nothing sinful or unclean, while so, can come."

Other things were said on this important subject, and I drew to a conclusion thus: "That though by nature, as we are the offspring of the first Adam, we have a seed of evil or sin in us ; which springing up, and we acting according to its motions, become guilty before God ; yet as we receive and believe in, and unite with Christ, the word of God, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit, and are witness of his work in our hearts, we become born of him, (that Seed) who never fell or could fall ; children of God, and heirs of his precious promises, partakers of the divine nature, and have present redemption from under the power of sin and Satan."

During all this time the people were very still ; but their minister was fretful, and interrupted me often, for he saw what I said took with them.

When I had done, he answered, "That there is not a just man upon the earth, that doth good and sinneth not ; and that, if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves ;"—with some such things in favour of sin, very short, and so sat down. I replied, "That I had already repeated one of those texts of scripture, and some others to the same purpose ; (for I intended at first to anticipate him in what they usually alledge in favour of that pernicious doctrine, of sin term of life) and that whatsoever was written in the law, was to them who were under it. While men were under the law, which gave the knowledge of sin, but did not redeem from it, all these things were true, as to them ; for the law made nothing perfect ; but the bringing in of a better hope doth : which hope is *Christ in us, the hope of glory* ; the law of the spirit of life by Christ, which received, and believed in, worketh in us a conformity to the will of God."

Passing from this subject, our conversation turned upon the nature of baptism, in which I endeavoured to

to prove the baptism of Christ's Holy Spirit to be alone essential to salvation; and that the dipping or sprinkling with water, as practised by Christians in the present time, is not of his institution.

My opponent now attempted to prove, that the scriptures are the word of God, and as such, are the ground of faith, and rule of life. I replied, "The scripture doth not any where call itself the word of God, but gives that title, justly, properly, and only to Christ, in his spiritual appearance, both in the Old and New Testament: first in the old, where it is written, * *For this commandment, which I command thee, this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off, &c. but the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.* This was not any of the ten commandments, written on tables of stone, (though indeed the root of all the commandments of God) nor was there much of the scripture then written; but this was the spirit of Christ before his incarnation; of whom Peter testifies, That he was in the prophets, and testified beforehand his sufferings, (in the flesh, and that many hundred years before his manifestation therein) and the glory that should follow: of whom the apostle Paul likewise bears testimony, in these words, † *The righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thy heart, who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down from above;) or who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is the word of faith which we preach.*

"Again, the evangelist John testifies of Christ after this manner, ‡ In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God; all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made. He was in the world,

* Deut. xxx. 11. 14.

† Rom. x. 6.

‡ John i. 2, 3, &c.

and

and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, &c. Now these things cannot be said of the scriptures; for the Spirit of Christ is not the scriptures, though they testify of him: the scriptures never ascended into heaven, neither did they descend into the deep, and rise again; neither is the scripture the word of faith; neither were they in the beginning; nor are they God; nor was any thing at all made by them: but all things were made some thousands of years before there were any scriptures in the world; as it appears the first of them was written by Moses, which is but a very small part.

“ And concerning those scriptures, the Lord Jesus said to the Jews, who had them, * Ye have not his (the Father's) word abiding in you; for whom he hath sent, him ye believe not. Search the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come to me that ye may have life. Here Christ, the word of God, is again distinguished from the scripture; they are not that word, but bear testimony of him: and so do the scriptures of both testaments still, and will through ages to come: but, I beseech you, be aware, lest, while you seem to magnify the scriptures, as the Jews did, you fall into the like errors, and they become of no effect also unto you, through your vain inventions and traditions, and you fall short of eternal life, as they did, through a neglect of the manifestations, admonitions, and operations of the spirit of Christ, the word of God, in your hearts; the grace of God given unto you, in you, as a free and constant teacher in the way of truth and salvation.

Then I informed the people, “ That we ever had a great esteem for the scriptures, as believing them to be given by divine inspiration, but that they make wise

* John v. 38, &c.

through

through faith in Christ : so that faith must go before ; and the apostles had believed before their understanding^e were opened to know the scriptures."

Something was said after this concerning the ministry, of its call and maintenance ; the dispute held about seven hours ; and I am persuaded divers of the people understood and received in their minds, the truth of much of what I had delivered. This long contest ended without any personal rancour, I believe, on either side : for in all contests of this nature, which I have hitherto been engaged in, I have, in the first place, looked for the seasoning grace of God in my own heart, to qualify me with a right temper of mind for such provocations as I might meet with, and for understanding, and fortitude, so as that the truth might not suffer by any weakness or passion of mine : and my aim hath ever been, much more to gain upon the understanding of my opponents, and the auditories, than the vain glory of conquest ; and have ever succeeded best, when preserved in full charity, wherein the divine light, which giveth understanding, dwelleth ; when I have so behaved to the opposers of truth, as not to provoke them into any passion, but keep them calm as much as possible ; and they having a measure of the same light in themselves, (for he is in all mankind) and their own understandings as reasonable creatures, on my side, with me against their errors or mistakes, (for my contest is not with men, but their errors which hurt them) they are then open to conviction : but passion and anger (and malice much more so), is darkness, and involves the mind therein ; and while that is uppermost in the heart of man, and he prepossessed against the truth, he is not capable of information, but opposeth with fury, and ill language, what he does not understand, though the necessary truths of the gospel : for this is a true saying, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him ; neither can
" he

"he know them, because they are spiritually discern-
 "ed." Much less is he capable in time of anger,
 when he is not reasonable; nor is it prudent to dis-
 course with him on such subjects, at such times: yet
 when an opposer, though a little warm, keeps within
 reasonable bounds, he may be convinced of his mis-
 takes, in his understanding, and yet not publicly own
 it, because of his imaginary honour: for, being in re-
 putation for a man of understanding, parts and abili-
 ties, (and perhaps a teacher) he is ashamed to be over-
 come before an auditory, or own the truth to be on
 the other side: then it may be reasonable to discourse
 with such an one, and profitable to the audience. But
 this I have ever endeavoured in such cases, to part
 with every opposer in as much friendship as could be
 obtained, that if possible no rancour might remain.

Now, if I had not known that the invisible power of
 truth was over that people, at that time, considering
 their former enmity against us and the truth, I had run
 a great risk (humanly speaking) of personal injury by
 some of them; but through divine goodness, both to
 them and me, I did not observe a frown on any brow,
 or hard word from any, save one; for which, unto the
 only true God and Saviour, be dominion and praises,
 now and for ever. Amen.

On the 26th of the 2d month I was at their meet-
 ing at Nantasket, and on the 27th had a meeting ap-
 pointed at Scituate, where came a young man, who
 took some exceptions against what I said in the meet-
 ing, about infants, and their salvation by Christ, and
 about baptism: and hearing of it, I desired he might
 be informed, "That if he pleased to go to the house
 of our friend with us, I would endeavour to satisfy
 him." He came accordingly, and there I told him,
 "I understood he was not satisfied with something I
 had said in the meeting concerning infants; and there-
 fore asked him, what he believed concerning them?"
 He said, "He believed they were all damned, who
 died

died unbaptized." Then I asked him, "If he believed all of them were saved, that were baptized, as he called it?" He answered, "No." "What then, said I, makes the difference?" He replied, "they were all damned, because they cannot believe in Christ." I replied, "Neither can they commit sin; nor can they believe who are baptized and saved, as thy first answer implies, though thou hast receded from it since." Then he said, "They sinned in Adam." I answered, "That as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall (the same) all be made alive." But said he again, "They cannot believe in Christ." Then I said, "Dost thou not believe, that many ages and nations of people fell under some disadvantage by Adam's sin, who never heard of him outwardly?" To this he was silent. Then I proceeded to say to them who were present, *That where there is no law, there is no transgression*: and little children being incapable of any law but that of nature, which they cannot break, consequently they cannot sin: and that though for some time, under the law, and first covenant of the Jews, the sins of the fathers were to be visited upon the children, not for ever, but only unto the third and fourth generation: not such as loved God, but such as hated him; upon which a proverb arose among the people, that the *fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge*. But this proverb was to cease, and was annulled by God, as by the testimony of two of his great prophets, by whom it is written, in the name of the Lord; first by Jeremiah, (about six hundred years before Christ) who saith, *In those days, they shall say no more, the fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge; but every one shall die for his own iniquity; every man that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be on edge*. And this was to be under the new covenant come by the Lord Jesus Christ, now in force. Secondly, by Ezekiel, who hath it more at large, chap. xviii. 2, 3, 4. And there are many conditions

ditions in this chapter of Ezekiel, respecting the life and death of the righteous and wicked, and the changes which may happen to both, from state to state, by their own acts or omissions of known duties, from which, in the nature of persons and things, little children, as such, are exempted; and the Lord Jesus Christ, the mediator of the new covenant (by which the first is ended) hath declared them innocent, by taking them in his arms, blessing them, and saying, *that of such is the kingdom of heaven.* And the apostle saith, that sin was in the world before the law, but it was not imputed; so that though there be a seed of sin in children, which in time may spring up, unto which, if they join by any sinful act, as mankind too commonly and universally do, they are thereby brought under the law or power of sin; not by the transgression of Adam, the common father of all after the flesh, but by their own, as Adam was, until children be capable of the knowledge of good and evil, by the law of the new covenant of light and grace, sin is not imputed; and there being nothing to condemn them until they have sinned, consequently they are all saved; and therefore sprinkling them under these bare words, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, without the power, is false in fact, and a profanation of that holy name, though under pretence to take away original sin, and save them, which is an act of great ignorance."

After this the young man was silent as to any reply on the subject; but confessed he now believed, that there could not be any little children in hell, but that all of them are saved; and he parted with us in a very friendly manner.

A few days after I had a meeting at Boston, which was small; and on the 29th arrived a sloop from Bristol, near Rhode-Island, with the two young men before-mentioned, who were under confinement for refusing to bear arms. On the 1st of the 3d month, accompanied by some friends, I went to the governor, Colonel

Colonel Dudley, and requested him to release our friends; he received us respectfully, and seemed to lament our condition as a people, that we should expose ourselves to such sufferings; but said, "seeing the judges have given such a judgment, I cannot tell how to dispense with it; especially now in the time of war." I urged some reasons why we refused to fight, "especially the doctrine and practice of our great Lord, master, and example, the captain of our salvation; who came into the world, not to destroy the lives of mankind, but to save them."

Having discoursed some time on other subjects (and finding nothing could then be done) we parted. After this I wrote to the governor, and the young men were at liberty when I left Boston, on their words to be ready upon call.

- On the 2d of 3d month we had a meeting at Boston, which was very full of a sober people: the truth was over all, and many doctrines were opened to general satisfaction: infant baptism was discovered to be upon a false foundation, "that the ancestors of that people in New-England were once a religious people, according to the degree of manifestation and reformation that then was. That they left their native country, and advantages therein, for the liberty of their consciences in matters of religion and worship of God; but that some of them quickly degenerated, though others, I believe, being faithful to what they knew, held their integrity, and were entered into rest; but that many, in this generation, have only the image and outside of the religion of their ancestors, without the virtue and life of religion; which many of them were in possession of and enjoyed."

I then exhorted them to turn to the "Lord Jesus Christ, in the dispensation of divine light and life; which now is clear from all types, shadows, and symbols: for as their ancestors lived in the dawning of the day, they did not see plainly, but as it were men as
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trees; and therefore had retained a Popish invention, instead of an ordinance of Christ, viz. sprinkling of infants; which is as much popery, and as much without scripture foundation, as godfathers and the sign of the cross. After which I observed a distinction between the dispensations of God to the Jews and Gentiles, though by the same Saviour." Under all which they were patient and attentive; many of them looking surprised at the opening of things; truth having great authority over the people, at that time in general: and it was by much the best meeting I ever was at there, or in all New-England before.

On the 3d we had a meeting at Charles-Town, over the Sound; from hence went to Marble-Head, where we had a meeting, which was pretty large, and the people sober. The creation of man, his first state of innocence, his fall, present state of nature, and restoration by Christ the second Adam, were subjects of the testimony; and the divine truth had good dominion over the people. That evening we returned to Lynn, and on the 5th had a meeting there; where, there being no strangers, things opened to the state of a convinced, professing people, and the danger of setting down in any form of religion and worship, without the life and power, as well in our meetings as others; for there is but either life or death, truth or error, in every form, or outward appearance of religion: and where Christ appears in the midst of an assembly, there is life; and where he doth not appear in any degree, death reigns, and God is not worshipped there.

On the 7th we were at a marriage at Salem. Here I remained till the 9th, being the day of their monthly meeting, which was large: Lydia Norton, Mary Daw, Esther Palmer, and Susanna Freeborn, all living ministers, came to that meeting. The next day we had a meeting at Ipswich, where there are none of our society; several of the people were tendered, and generally

rally satisfied. The meeting being ended, I stood up and said to them, "That some things might perhaps not have been well understood, and doubts might remain; but if any were dissatisfied with any thing which had been said, or doubtful in any point, I would do my best to explain matters unto them:" but none appearing, we departed in peace; and that afternoon went to Newbury, where I would have staid till the morning; but there not being provender for my horse, I went over the Great River, with some Salisbury friends, who had been at the meeting. We lodged at our friend Henry Dowe's, though it was in the time of war, and not under the protection of any garrison. Several persons having been killed a little before by the Indians, who were for the French against the English; I found the people in those parts under great fear and danger; and the weight of their condition and circumstances came heavy upon me. On the 11th I rested there; and in the morning went alone up a hill, not far from the house, and stood upon a stump of a tree, where I could see a garrison some distance off; but at the same time thought, that if any Indians were in ambush there, I might be a fair mark for them to shoot at; upon which I retired from thence, and descended the hill, and near the foot of it sat down under the side of a fence; where my mind was sensibly filled with divine goodness, which staid me there for some time; upon my return I found the friends had been a little thoughtful where I could be; and when I told them I had been on the top of the hill, they informed me, that was the place where the sculking Indians sometimes came, to spy for advantages against the people.

The same day notice was given in the neighbourhood of my being come, and of the meeting to be the next day at the house of Thomas Nichols, which was held accordingly, and proved a tender meeting, the minds of the people being low for fear of the Indians.

It

It was a dismal time in those parts; for no man knew, in an ordinary way, on his lying down to sleep, but that he might lose his life before the morning, by the hands of a merciless savage; who from wrongs received, as they too justly say, from the professors of Christ in New-England, are to this day enraged, sparing neither age nor sex: nor are they capable of any intreaty, but, on the contrary, by the examples set them in the destruction of their ancestors, by the pretended Massachusetts Christians, promising life and friendship, they frequently murder their captives in cold blood.

The people were generally in garrisons in the night time; and some professing truth also, went into the same with their guns, and some without them: but the faithful and true, trusting in the Lord, neither used gun, nor garrison, sword, buckler, nor spear; the Lord alone being their strong tower, and place of refuge, and defence; and great was their peace, comfort, and safety in him.

That evening I had great peace, as at any time in my travels before; many things were opened suiting the states of the people and meetings. On the 13th we had a meeting at Salisbury, where there was a garrison in some part of the town, but returned in the evening to Henry Dowe's, a place of as much seeming danger as any, being near a great swamp and thicket, where Indians formerly inhabited, and there I lodged; where there was neither gun, nor sword, nor any weapon of war, but truth, faith, the fear of God, and love in a humble resigned mind: and there I rested with consolation.

Here I think fit to relate a particular passage, viz. "The mother of H. Dowe's wife, being a friend of a blameless life, and living in this same house with them, let in reasonings against their continuing in a place of so much apparent danger, and frequently urged them to remove into the town where the garrison was, that they

they might lodge there in the night for more safety, as many others, and some friends did; which her daughter could never be free to do, believing, that if they should let in any slavish fear, or distrust in the arm and protection of the Lord, some very hard thing would befall them; till at length her mother said to her, that if she could say she had the mind of the Lord against it, she would rest satisfied; but nothing less than that could balance so rational fears in such obvious danger. But the young woman, being modest, cautious, and prudent, durst not assume positively to place her aversion to their removal so high: at length she and her husband complied with the mother, and they removed to the town, to a house near the garrison, where the young woman was constantly troubled with frightful fears of the Indians (though while at the house by the swamp, she was free from it, and quiet) the mother, having left some small things in the house by the swamp, was going early in the morning to fetch them, and by some Indians, in ambush, was killed. The same morning a young man, a friend, going from the town to his work, with a gun in his hand, and another with him without any, the Indians shot him who had the gun, but hurt not the other; and when they knew the young man they had killed was a friend, they seemed to be sorry for it, but blamed him for carrying a gun: for they knew the Quakers would not fight, nor do them any harm; and therefore by carrying a gun, they took him for an enemy.

“ When the town was alarmed, the young woman concluded her mother was slain, but did not go into the garrison, but took one of her children in each hand, and went with them into the swamp, or thicket full of reeds, near the place; where all her tormenting fear left her, and she was then greatly comforted and strengthened in the presence of the Lord, and con-

firmed in her thoughts, that they should not have left their house for their mother's fears, though reasonable in human view, seeing that consequence had attended; after which she returned to her house by the garrison with her children. The loss of the mother was much lamented by the son and daughter, and others; but as soon as her body was interred, they went back with their little children to the same place by the swamp; where I lodged with them when they gave me this relation."

On the 14th, and the following days, we had meetings at Newbury, Hampton, and Dover. On the 20th accompanied by some of the most steady and concerned friends of the place, we went to visit several at their houses; and among the rest, Peter Varney, a substantial friend, at a house he had a little way in the woods, and much in danger of the enemy; and we all being under the weight of the state of things, and especially myself, under the consideration, that if I should appoint meetings at places in the woods, and any person happened to be killed, or hurt, in coming to, or going from them, great blame might be cast upon me, as accessory to it, if not the cause, and the way of truth likewise reflected on by my means. We had very few words (and none needless) among us; and I could not see my way concerning any meetings, or places for any: but in this state of mind, this saying presented itself before me: "He that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth, but to him who walketh in the light, there is no occasion of stumbling." And when this entered, every doubt and fear vanished, my mind was clear, my countenance cheered, and the same invisible power reached the company likewise; so that they were all cheered up, and we were of one mind. Then I saw my way clear to appoint meetings for the week, with their concurrence, at several places where formerly they had been:

been : all reasonings from the apparent danger of the times being fully silenced in my mind, and I had no further doubt about it.

The meetings were in a good degree to satisfaction, at Oyster-River, Kittery, Cacheca, and Dover. But the Indians having done mischief in those parts in a cowardly manner, many were struck with great fear of them ; and several professing truth fell under that temptation, so far as to take up arms, and go into forts and garrisons ; and a few standing faithful in the simplicity of truth, keeping their habitations therein day and night, trusting in the Lord, and willing rather to lose their natural lives for the Lord's sake, than offend him, or give occasion to the enemies of the blessed truth to triumph, there happened debates among them ; the unfaithful not being content in their unfaithfulness, sought to justify themselves in that unworthy practice, condemning the faithful as wilful and presumptuous ; I had therefore much to say in every meeting on that subject, to convince them of their weakness, bring them forward, and fortify them in their testimony ; and especially to charge them, that seeing they had not full faith in the arm of the Lord, they should acknowledge it to be their own weakness, and be humble : not seek to justify themselves therein, lest the Lord should blast them, as to his truth, and they find themselves also disappointed of the arm of flesh, in which they had trusted.

In the way between Dover and Hampton, I had some conversation with John Cotton, a Presbyterian minister. I exhorted him " Not to sit down under those imperfect, inadequate, and dark shadows, short of the divine substance, nor persuade the people to rest there. The only baptism remaining in the church of Christ, is that by his Holy Spirit : and as to the true supper, it is that flesh and blood of Christ, the soul-quickening spirit and life from God ; which whosoever eateth and drinketh, dwelleth in Christ, and Christ

Christ in him. In this mankind are quickened, raised from death unto life, and live in him, and by him for ever : which cannot be effected by any other ministry or ministration."

He was a mild and temperate spirited man, and we parted in friendship.

After this I had meetings at Salisbury, Jamaica, and Haverel. At Salisbury I had occasion to say something in behalf of women's preaching, in answer to one that objected.

I said, "That no interpretation of scripture ought to be advanced, or admitted, which makes it contradict itself, or one part of it another ; or one apostle oppose another, or contradict himself, or any of the prophets, or the matters of fact recorded in Holy Writ, relating to the publick ministry of holy women in the church of Christ, or otherwise.

"First then you may observe what Joel the prophet said, (many ages before the days of the apostles) relating to the dispensation of the gospel in this point, and the publishers of it. ** And it shall come to pass * afterwards, that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh, * and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy ; your * old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see * visions : and also upon the servants and upon the hand- * maids in those days will I pour out my spirit.*' The apostle Peter, being filled with the Holy Ghost, declares this prophecy to relate to the dispensation of the gospel, and to begin at that time of the great and glorious effusion of the Holy Spirit of Christ at Jerusalem, repeating the prophecy at large. Now it is reasonably and morally certain, by a just and undeniable consequence, that the spirit of Christ came at that time upon the holy women present ; and that the women, or some of them, preached Christ to the multitude, as well as the men, having been his witnesses.

as well as they; or otherwise the application Peter made of that prophecy to that instance, could not have been adequate, and without exception, or a reasonable objection: for if no woman had spoken, or preached Christ there at that time, it might have been said, that the prophet mentions women as well as men, daughters equal with sons, but here only sons appear in this dispensation and on this occasion; and therefore that prophecy cannot relate to it: but no objection of this nature appearing, it strongly follows, that some women preached there as well as the men at that time.

“Secondly, If daughters were not to preach as well as sons; handmaids as well as other servants, this prophecy could never be fulfilled, and consequently must be false; which to say or think, would be prophane and blasphemous, and cannot be admitted in any wise. The apostle Paul saith, ‘*Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church, or congregation.*’ The apostle saith on another occasion, ‘*Let the women learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.*’

“By all which it appears, that the apostle was not prohibiting women in general, when inspired by Christ, (and thereby qualified for such services) to preach or pray publickly in the congregation; but such only as were imperious, ignorant, untaught and unlearned in the way of Christ and religion; and also talkative, asking impertinent questions in the congregations, occasioning debates, heats, contentions, and confusion. Such were not to be suffered in such evil

work, but to be obedient to their husbands (for he aimed at some married women) and learn of them at home in modest and decent silence; it being a shame both to the women themselves, and the congregations of the faithful, that such women should be permitted to speak in that manner in a publick way, to disturb them, and hinder their devotion.

“ Further, Paul directs how women ought to be adorned, as well as men, in the time of the publick exercise of their ministry, or preaching; and if he had been against all women’s preaching, and yet given directions concerning that circumstance, he would not have been consistent with himself therein, nor one part of his ministry with another; for he saith, *Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head; but every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head.* And more in the same place to that purpose: which still further proves, that the apostle was not against women’s preaching in the congregations, but fully allowed it; only he endeavoured to reform some of them in some circumstantial and incidents pertinent to their ministry, in which they were wanting at that time.

“ And also Philip, an evangelist, one of the seven deacons, and an able minister of Christ, had four daughters virgins, who did prophesy; and seeing they were daughters of so eminent a minister of Christ as Philip was, without all reasonable contradiction, not only Philip himself, but the churches of Christ, wherever they ministered, approved them therein. Upon the whole, we must needs conclude, that women, as well as men, may and ought to prophesy, preach, and pray publicly in the church and churches of Christ, when thereunto qualified and called by Christ, under the immediate direction and influence of his Holy Spirit and power, as those holy women were; without which neither male nor female, under any other qualification or pretence whatsoever, ought to intrude.

intrude themselves, or meddle ; lest that question, under the displeasure of the Almighty, be asked of such, *Who hath* required this at your hands ? and incur a just punishment in the end."

The people were generally attentive : some opposition was met with from one or two persons, bringing for the most part false assertions, without any proof, who exposed themselves to the just censure of the people, and rather confirmed them in the truth of what we had delivered, than hurt the cause of truth.

After this I went to Henry Dowe's, and next morning had a meeting of ministering friends there. The presence and power of the Lord was eminently with us, to the glory of his own name ; and many things were brought to remembrance, and opened to our mutual edification and consolation : they being for the most part young in that exercise, things opened in me to my own admiration ; so that it was one of the best meetings I had been at in those parts. That evening I went again to Haverel, and on the 6th we had a meeting there, in which the Lord was with us ; many things were opened, and truth came over all. The next day I went to Salem, from thence to Marblehead and Lynn, having meetings. On the 15th I returned to Boston, and went to see the two young men, who were still kept there as prisoners, but well used beyond expectation. We went to see the captain of the fort, to acknowledge his civility to our friends, and he was very respectful to us : but in the mean time came several merchants from Boston, and some members of the assembly, and the chaplain of the castle, by profession a Baptist, who soon began to bring false accusations against the Quakers, and rail against the light ; pretending to give a description of the faith of the Quakers, and prove it erroneous, allowing us to be moral men, but no Christians. Upon which I took him up, and said, " it was rude, and unreasonable in him, to pretend to give an account of other men's
" faith,

“faith, and falsely too, in contradiction to themselves, when any of them were present.”

This surprized him a little; and then I cited out of the first chapter of John the Evangelist, a text, “That the word is God; that he is light, the true light, which lighteth every man who cometh into the world. And that the same word was made or assumed flesh, and was in that manifestation, called Jesus Christ, the anointed Saviour: this light is that true light, in whom the Quakers believe; and therefore thou art injurious to affirm (as he had then done) that we believe in the false light of our own fallen nature.” But it growing late, and having about a league by water to Boston, and not time to proceed on that subject, there the matter ended.

On the 17th, being first day of the week, I was at our meeting there, and on the 20th had a meeting at Cambridge (where they have a college for the education of youth; and where many of them are fitted for an artificial ministry in their way) being disappointed of the place we intended to have held the meeting in, we sat down upon the ground, under the shade of a large spreading oak, on a green before the buildings of the college; and several of the students were present. Various matters were opened “concerning the state of man in the fall; the necessity of freedom from sin in this life, by the manifestation of the Lord Jesus Christ, who appears in us the offspring of the Gentiles, according to the promises and covenants of God, by his divine light, grace, and holy spirit in our hearts; and that Christ is *that true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world*, as well as he is the *propitiation for the sins of the whole world*.”

“And as to the way that God makes, raises, qualifies, and sends his ministers in his church, and unto mankind in this dispensation, it is the same as in the days of the prophets and apostles, and ever will be (for God changeth not) not by human learning, or in
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the wit and wisdom of man, but in and by the word and wisdom of God; some of the prophets of old were learned among men, as Isaiah, but generally unlearned, as Amos, Elisha, Joel, and the rest: and some of the apostles likewise were learned, as Paul; but generally unlearned, as Peter, James, John, and most of the rest. The word of God, which was in the beginning with God, came unto the prophets of God, by which they declared the mind of God unto his people, and the judgments of God against the prophets, who spoke false things from their own imaginations, and not from the Lord; and sometimes stole the words of the Lord by the true prophets, and spake as if the Lord had sent them, and, by their false doctrine and lies, made the people err; but the Lord denied these prophets, and reproved them by his true prophets. And the apostles of Christ were not appointed or ordained of men, but by Christ himself, by whose holy spirit they were filled, being the wisdom of God and the power of God, by and from which they preached unto the people, and reproved the Rabbies of the age, and exposed their evil ways and errors: and yet human learning, where the mind is fully subjected unto the spirit of truth, and subservient to it, may be useful, as in Paul, but not to be preferred as the chief qualification in that service: unto which, through the pride and vain glory of the carnal unmortified minds of self-exalting men, it has frequently done much more harm than ever it did good. And, as saith the apostle to the Gentiles, * *For ye see your calling brethren, how that not many wise men, after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the*

* 1 Cor. i. 26.

‘ world, and things which are despised, hath God
 ‘ chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to
 ‘ nought things which are, that no flesh should glory
 ‘ in his *presence*.’

“ And as no fountain can send forth sweet and bitter waters at the same time and place, I exhorted the students not to sin against God, by depending upon their qualifications and acquirements in that their fountain of human learning, and run when God doth not send them; and so imbitter the minds of the people, by sowing of tares, a false and evil seed, prepossessing themselves against the truth. I pointed to some passages in Jeremiah, where it is said, * ‘ *Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Hearken not unto the words of the prophets, that prophesy unto you; they make you vain; they speak a vision of their own hearts, and not out of the mouth of the Lord; they say still unto them who despise me, the Lord hath said, Ye shall have peace; and they said unto every one that walketh after the imagination of his own heart, no evil shall come upon you.*’ To this are added, great threatenings against the false prophets; but it mentions, that in the latter days it should be considered perfectly.

“ It was my desire that their fountain might be so seasoned with the salt of the covenant of life, that they might escape all those evils, and that they might come to drink of that living fountain, which is as a river of living water to those who rightly believe in the Lord Jesus. I observed also to them, that their ancestors, who first came into this country, and the ancient Puritans, of whom they came, were a religious people, according to the degree of manifestation then received; depending upon the gift of God in their ministry, and not upon human literature: for though some of them had learning, many of their ministers

* Jer. xxiii. 16.

had not, but were called gifted brethren; and that those were the men who gathered the congregations in those days, the bees, who gathered the honey! on the dregs and decays whereof the present drones are now feeding: and that the glory is departed from their Israel, which shall never be restored in the form and image left of their ancestors, but in the life of the Lamb, whom this age have too much rejected: but if they would receive the truth in the present dispensation of it, that is, of divine light and grace revealed in the heart, the glory should yet return to New-England, and shine brighter than ever, and more and more unto the perfect day: but if they refused, then all the blood, both of Christians and Indians, shed by their ancestors, should be visited, and recompensed upon them in the course of the Providence of God in justice."

The meeting was concluded in prayer to God for them all, both magistrates, ministers, the college and people; and all ended in solidity and peace, to the general satisfaction; for I did not observe a light or dissatisfied countenance.

The next day I was at a meeting at Boston, and likewise on the 25th, being first day of the week, at the meetings, which were both large and satisfactory. From hence I went to Nantasket, Scituate, Marshfield, Sandwich, Dartmouth, Cushnet, and into the Island of Nantucket, and had divers open meetings, till the 24th of 5th month, when two meetings were held at Martha's Vineyard, an island between Nantucket and the main. From hence I went to Dartmouth, and on the 28th to Warwick, to a yearly meeting, which was to begin there the day following; and continued by adjournment to the meeting-house at Providence the next day, being the first of the week.

On the 31st I was at Greenwich, at another meeting; where I was concerned to speak against divers enormities, and especially whispering, backbiting, tra-
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ducing, and villifying, as works of the evil one, and of the flesh. After the meeting several persons went to Ebenezer Slocomb, an honourable and able minister of truth, and made confession of things they had unjustly reported against him, asking him forgiveness. Next day, being first of sixth month, I had a meeting in Narraganset. Some persons were well satisfied, and confirmed in their understandings against the pernicious doctrine of predestination, and for the sole baptism of the Holy Spirit. On the 2d and 3d we had meetings at Canonicut and Newport, on the 7th and 8th at Wiccopinsit and Taunton; in this last place the meeting was held at an inn: after which I had conversation with several persons on religious matters, to the honour of truth, and satisfaction of many present.

On the 9th we went into the island of Canonicut, where I met with a Baptist teacher, who, enquiring after news from the army gone into the East towards Canada against the French, took occasion to tell us he had two sons there; and by degrees we fell into conversation upon the subject of war: he pleaded "the necessity of the temporal sword in general, and the continuance of it under the gospel (as well as before) under the umbrage of the suppression of robbers, murderers, and other evil doers; and that when any one nation would unjustly invade another, and her rights, properties, and privileges, it is as murder, theft, rapine, piracy, and the like: so that since the magistrate (and the king as chief) beareth not the sword in vain, it is not wholly taken away by the gospel, so long as magistracy, and the cause and use of it remain."

To this I answered, "That the sword there mentioned, is not, as I apprehend, the sword of destruction, nation against nation, nor the necessity of the use of such a sword in the civil state; but rather the sword of civil justice, in execution of civil, temporal, and righteous laws; whereby the civil magistrate is, ~~as~~ ought

ought to be, a *terror to the evil doer, and a safeguard, and praise to them that do well.*"

He replied, "That if force by arms were not to be made use of in apprehending thieves, robbers, and the like, they would not submit to be apprehended and brought to justice, but go on by force to do those mischiefs."

To this I replied, "That magistracy being God's ordinance, to that, and other good, social, and salutary ends, the countenance of God is with the civil officer in his just prosecution, and execution of his office; and the Almighty having power over all spirits, for the most part strikes a terror into evil doers, when they are only discovered and accused; so that it is very rare that any such resist the powers by force, but by stealth only; however, force may be allowed in this case, in the hand of a proper officer, whose business and duty it is to apprehend and bring to justice furious and incorrigible transgressors of righteous laws and ordinances of men, for the just rule of countries and nations. But here I must distinguish between the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdom of this world, in order to bring this matter to a right understanding and period: the Lord by several of his prophets hath foretold, ' * *That he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off, and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.*' This is to come to pass under the new covenant, of which Christ the Son of God is mediator; whose doctrine tends to the fulfilling of it, in all who believe and obey the gospel. For he saith, '† *Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to*

* Isa. ii. 4. Mic. iv. 3.

† Matt. v. 43, 44.

‘them that hate you; and pray for them who despite-fully use you and persecute you.’ And so preached perfection, which being accomplished in the heart by the holy and powerful Spirit of him who preached this doctrine, all lust is taken away and destroyed; whether it be the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, of vain glory, of power, domination, self-exaltation, covetousness; the lust of envy, revenge, and the like; which are the ground and cause of wars and fightings among carnal men; as saith the apostle James; * ‘From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not from hence, even from your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust and have not; ye kill and desire to have, and cannot obtain; ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not; ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts.’ Now though the kings and kingdoms of this world may be at war, and do and will make war one against another for a time, until the kingdom of Christ shall prevail over all; yet the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, as he said unto Pilate, † ‘If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence.’ And as he was sent into the world in the love of the Father, so the whole tenor of his doctrine, and example of his life, was for peace and love; and in that love, and in the power and divine virtue of it, he yielded up his life and body on the cross, a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and to declare the mercy of God to mankind. And the apostle saith concerning the members and subjects of the kingdom of Christ in this world; ‡ ‘For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds,

* Jam. iv. 1. 4, 5.

† John xviii. 36.

‡ 2 Cor. x. 3, 4, 5.

‘casting

‘ casting down imaginations (or reasonings) and every
‘ high thing which exalteth itself against the know-
‘ ledge of God, and bringing into captivity every
‘ thought to the obedience of Christ.’

“ As the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, he governs by his Holy Spirit, in and over such as are not of this world, but are given him out of the world, over whom, in all ages and succession of time, he hath ruled in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; and shall yet reign, till, by degrees, the kingdoms of this world shall all become the kingdoms of our God, and his Christ: and then shall be an end of all rule and dominion, but only of God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be all in all among the children of men: but until this be finished by degrees (as it is now begun, and proceeds) the kingdom of Christ on earth is, and shall be, as at the first, a holy nation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people, zealous of good works, not to fight and destroy, or to meddle with the kingdoms or rule of the world; against whom there is no law founded upon righteousness and truth: but until this be accomplished, nation will lift up sword against nation, and they will learn and exercise war; but as to us, we, through the mercy and goodness of God, are of those in whom this prophecy is begun to be fulfilled, and we can learn war no more: for as a nation shall not be born in one day, so this prophecy shall not be fulfilled in one generation, but in several; but being fulfilled, shall not fail any more for ever: but as for you, who are yet in wars and fightings, how are ye his subjects, or members of his holy nation, his royal priesthood, or peculiar people? or how can you be so, until you obey his doctrine, to love God above all, to love one another in him, to love your enemies, do good unto them that hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use and persecute you.

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for us, who do not fight with carnal weapons; meddle not with you who do, otherwise persuade you to leave that off, and be enlisted under the saving banner of the Prince of Peace; to believe in the divine light of the Son of God; to come out of the spirit of this world, in which is all trouble, into the spirit and kingdom of Christ, in whom there is perfect peace; which, if ye will not do, we must leave you to fight one with another, until you are weary, and have the recompence of it, one by another, in the natural consequences of that destructive evil; with this caution of the apostle nevertheless, that if you bite and devour one another, take heed lest ye be destroyed one of another.

“And I desire you to leave us to the Lord, to serve him, unto whom we belong, and fight in his name, under his banner, against the implacable enemy of our souls; against whom we find warring sufficient, and fighting enough daily, though we war not among you to destruction, nor one with another to the breach of peace.”

By this time the spirit of my opponent was overcome, and after some further discourse concerning baptism, we parted friendly; which I endeavour to do, after every contest for the faith and doctrine of Christ, with all men; my chief aim being to convince, and open the understandings of opposers, and the auditors, which is the most noble and Christian end.

On the 12th I went to see Ann Bull (an ancient friend, who, in time past, had gone with messages to King Charles II. on behalf of friends) and several other friends.

On the 13th, being the first day of the week, I was again at the meeting at Newport, which was large; the doctrine of the gospel opened clear, and truth was in dominion, many hearts being broken, (some of whom were bold and hardy commanders of privateers) to the honour.

honour and glory of the Lord; which happened at this expression in the authority of truth, "That many
"are so courageous, as men, that they dare go on un-
"daunted in the face of great ordnance and cannon
"shot, as contemning death, and yet are subdued and
"laid prostrate by the soft and melting reaches of that
"divine love in their hearts, in which the Lord Jesus
"laid down his precious life for the redemption of
"their souls."

On the 14th I went over to Boston Neck, where I met with Thomas Chalkley, who this last week had been visiting Narraganset; we had a meeting appointed a little in our way homeward the next day, which was an open good meeting, wherein many were comforted and confirmed in the truth.

On the 17th coming to Guilford, we stopt at an inn on account of the rain; where being made sensible of the operation of truth, and the love of it springing in my heart, I found a concern for a meeting in that place, which I acquainted Thomas Chalkley with, who liking the proposal, I told the innkeeper we desired to see some of the more sober sort of the people of the place, and have a meeting with them. After some hesitation, he undertook to give notice in the neighbourhood of our being there, and there came a pretty many young men in the evening. I mentioned to them our way of sitting in silence, to wait upon God, until he might please to open something in our understandings for the auditory; and so we all sat still: and the Lord having prepared my heart, I was quickly ready, and had a very open acceptable time among them; but not being long, T. Chalkley concluded the meeting in prayer, to our general satisfaction; and some of the people in particular declared openly their satisfaction with what had been said; and we had great peace in the Lord. We lodged there that night, and on the 18th went to Stratfield, where at the inn, in the next room to us, was a very rude company of
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the professors of that place, who kept almost in continual laughter and folly; but as we were at supper, our landlady, and a young woman came in, and the young woman, addressing herself very modestly to us, said, "I have often heard of your people and profession, but have never seen any of you before, and I would be heartily glad to have some discourse with you about your principles; for I desire to know the truth, and to follow it." Then said I, "Remember what the Lord Christ said, *Wo unto them that laugh now, for they shall mourn*; and what the wise man said, *It is better to go to the house of mourning, than to the house of laughter*; adding, that God was about to turn the world upside down, that that which is uppermost may be brought undermost, and that which is lowest may be exalted above all; this put them both to deep and solid silence. I added, "There are a sort of people in the world, who, professing to believe in Christ the Son of God, yet live jovial, airy, wanton, unconcerned, unmortified lives during their whole course in this life; and know no cross to their own wills, but live and die in their sins, and yet dream of salvation at last, though under woes from Christ, the Saviour of all who believe in him, follow and obey him; and as man's own lusts reign in him, in his natural state, and the evil one ruleth him therein, and is uppermost; so the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, and crucified in Sodom and Egypt, the dark, ignorant, and depraved hearts of wicked and ungodly mankind, lies undermost in themselves; but the Father of all, by his divine light and almighty power, is come, and coming more and more, to destroy the kingdom of darkness and ignorance, and the power of it, and to advance and establish the kingdom and reign of Christ the Lord in the hearts of mankind; of the increase of whose kingdom, government and peace, there shall be no end."

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It growing late, we soon retired, recommending them to the Lord.

On the 19th we went to Maranock, and next day were at the meeting at Westchester; after which, we went over the Sound into Long-Island. On the 22d had a meeting at Jamaica, and here we went to visit our friend Samuel Bownas, still a prisoner for the testimony of the truth. After taking several other meetings, on the 28th I went to New-York, and the day after had a good and comfortable meeting there. On the 30th we set forward for Philadelphia, and the same day got over at Amboy Ferry into East Jersey, where we lodged at an inn; the next day rode 50 miles to Burlington, in West Jersey; and the day after, being 1st of the 7th month, to Philadelphia; where that evening, and the next two days, I felt more oppression of the seed of life in my mind, than in all my travels among the blind professors and savages of New-England; the cause whereof may the Lord himself discover, reprove, judge, and amend, as in his wisdom and goodness it may please him, to his own glory: to whom, for his mighty aid, many preservations, and great love, in this journey, be immortal honour, saith my soul! Amen.

Having thus finished my journey to New-York, Long-Island, Rhode-Island, and New-England, I settled to the business of my offices at Philadelphia; in the mean time visiting meetings in town and country, as occasion offered, until the 14th day of the 2d month 1705; when I left Philadelphia, in order to visit friends in Maryland, Virginia, and North-Carolina; and next day was at Concord meeting, where truth prevailed, and things were well. The next morning I set forward, accompanied by several friends, and went over Susquehannah River to the house of Thomas Brown; where though coming in late, and neither he, nor any of his family of our society, yet we were kindly entertained.

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On the 17th, in the afternoon, we came to William Pecket's, who, though not under our profession, yet was zealous for the truth, and received us kindly: he agreed to our having a meeting next day at his house, and sent his servants several ways to give notice in the country; and in the mean time he told me of some discourses which had happened among the people in those parts, since I had been there before: for in a great meeting on that side the Bay, I had reminded the members of the national church of England, "of what they call their baptismal vow and promise, made in so solemn a manner before God and man, when they are sprinkled: for then they promise and vow three great things by themselves and sureties. First, To renounce the devil, and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh. Secondly, To believe all the articles of the Christian faith. And, Thirdly, To keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of their lives; and this they are taught to believe is their duty: and as, by their publick confession, they had broken all those promises and vows; and, from being made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, in their baptism, have so far renounced it, and are so far fallen and degenerated from that state, as to have erred and strayed from the ways of the Lord like lost sheep; followed too much the devices and desires of their own hearts; offended against the holy laws of God; left undone those things which they ought to have done, and done those things which they ought not to have done; so that there is no health in them, but they are miserable sinners; and so, from time to time, year to year, to the end of their days, still go on in the same way, and yet call Christ, the Son of God, their Lord and Saviour, and God their Father; though they live and die in their sins, and are not saved from them, if this confession be true: and therefore

fore it might be charged upon them by the Almighty Creator, and Judge of the world, as perjury in his sight; and for that cause, and in zeal for their salvation, and, if possible, to awaken them from this deep sleep of sin, I had cried aloud in that meeting. O sinful nation! O perjured people! how greatly dost thou provoke the Most High by so great apostacy, and departure from the living God? How canst thou answer the Lord in that day, which is hastening upon thee? Exhorting them to repent, amend, return to the Lord, and perform their vows with all diligence and sincerity, that so their sins might be pardoned, blotted out, and remembered no more."

William Pecket informed me that a man of eminence in that country, and some others, had been at the meeting, and were offended with what I had said, and that he had invited him to the meeting which was now held, and the people were still and attentive, and we were favoured with divine goodness.

After the meeting we went forward, and lodged at John Hay's, he and his wife being friendly; and on the 19th had a meeting at Patapsco: we were favoured with a sensible degree of divine life with us, but not in such aboundings, as at some other times and places. There had been several lately convinced in those parts, particularly Richard Cromwell, who had been a justice of peace; and having been convinced of truth the last time I was that way, stands nobly, having divested himself of the troubles attending that office, and of divers other incumbrances.

On the 22d, being the 1st day of the week, were at West River meeting, which was shut up, and hard in the beginning of it; but at the pleasure of him who openeth, and none can shut, and when he shutteth, none can open, the way and fountain of life; truth broke through at last, and all was well and comfortable. After the meeting, we went up to Samuel Galloway's, his wife lying very ill; with whom, and the

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family, and some friends, we had an open comfortable time in prayer, the love of God, and his good presence, being plentifully with us; and she was much refreshed, saying, "that though the Lord had not been wanting to her, yet she had not such a season of his goodness for about six months before, during the time of her illness hitherto."

After this I was at meetings at West River, Herring Creek, &c. In my way to Virginia we were plentifully entertained by the master and mistress of a house where we stopped, who set us over the river, about seven miles, and up a creek in his own boat, and all free, only what we could persuade him to suffer his servants to receive, as a gratuity for their pains. We landed at the house of Francis Thornton, and after having a meeting, proceeded, and had meetings at Black Creek, Curles, Levy Neck; and on the 27th of 3d month, being the first of the week, we went to the meeting at Chuckatuck, which was indifferent large and open; but as I was speaking, there came a very strong blast of wind upon the broadside of the house; and the door being open, the house was thereby the more in danger, and sensibly moved by the violence of the storm: many of the people were surprized and disordered, and some went out; but the power of truth being over all fears at that time in me, I continued speaking, advising the people to be still; and the meeting being quieted and settled, the truth came over all the assembly: the storm abating, many drew nearer, and were very attentive; for the matter was weighty, it being concerning the coming of Christ in the flesh, his office, and the end of his coming, both outwardly and inwardly, as a sacrifice for sin, and the destroyer of the kingdom of Satan in all who believe; and the meeting ended comfortably.

From hence I went on towards Carolina, and on the 3d of 4th month was at the meeting at Piquimmons, which was large and comfortable. After this, had

had meetings at several places; and on the 9th went to Joseph Jordan's, and having fixed upon a place for the meeting, with the concurrence of several of the most competent friends, I returned to Emanuel Low's, where I had been before. And here we met with Thomas Cary, the governor of North-Carolina; with whom I had much discourse about matters of government, and informed him of the methods taken by some governors in other governments, in favour of our friends against the severity of some laws.

On the 10th we went to a meeting on the other side the River Pasquotank; many of the country people came to it, who were generally sober; and the Lord opened the truths of the gospel very clear, and with authority. On the 12th we had a meeting at Upper Piquimmons, which was the best and most powerful meeting I had in that country; the next day I went back into Virginia 50 miles, being exceeding hot weather, and no inn, nor house in the way to entertain us. On the 14th I was at the monthly meeting at Chuckatuck; which was very large, and the whole publick service of it fell upon me. Next day we had another meeting there, which was also large; and many things opening in my testimony concerning government, and the duty of the magistrates, according to the Holy Scriptures, I understood afterwards there were three in that station present, who came to me after the meeting was over, and were very respectful.

On the 17th I went to Nathan Newby's, to a meeting appointed; which was large and open, truth prevailing to its own glory. After this meeting, in our return towards Robert Jordan's, the company was taken with the greatest storm of lightning, thunder, and rain, that ever I remember to have been in before; insomuch, that the fire and water seemed to be commixed in their descending upon us, and the thunder so sharp and sonorous, and so near, as if it had been bombs splitting among us; so that I, being the second in the company,

pany, looked back several times, to see if any were slain behind : and it was attended with a stifling smell of sulphur. The storm abating a little, it was quickly renewed with equal shew of terror ; so that we had it along for about the space of eight miles in the first, and three in the latter, in a very dreadful manner ; but the Lord preserved us from all harm ; and though I was a little concerned at the first approaches of so terrible threatenings, by an irresistible power, though from natural causes ; yet feeling the Creator near, who ordains it, and that his all-ruling authority was above, and over it, and all things, I was much comforted in him, in the time of the most apparent danger, for which I was greatly thankful to the Lord, and for our preservation ! which was the more remarkable, as we observed several great trees had been shattered to pieces by it ; we got safe to Robert Jordan's that evening : but another storm, with much thunder and rain coming on in the night, awakened the family, and some of them were much terrified ; but upon my retiring inward, I had great peace in the good presence of the Lord, and his love expelled all fears.

On the 20th I was at a meeting at Dirasco-Neck, which was pretty large ; and at the conclusion of it a person opposing, I had much to say in answer to his objections to what had been delivered in the meeting, of the necessity of freedom from sin in this life, in order to fit us for the kingdom of God. This contest detaining us late, we went (within night) to Matthew Jordan's, and on the 21st had a large good meeting at Levy-Neck, alias Pagan Creek.

On the 22d I was at Lyon's Creek meeting in Surry, held in the house of Benjamin Chapman. On the 24th at the yearly meeting at Queen's Creek, and from thence went to Hicquotan, and Chuckatuck, where, accompanied by Joseph Glaister, I had disputes with two persons on the subjects of baptism, and the necessity of freedom from sin ; which ended to our great satisfaction,

satisfaction, and the good liking of many, both friends and others.

The method I took was, to let my opponent have his full time in every question before I replied, usually asking him if he had done, before I answered (though he sometimes interrupted me) and pausing a little between, that neither he, nor any for him, might hereafter say, he was overborne with words; which gave some of the less intelligent sort occasion to imagine, that during all his discourse I had nothing to say, or was pinched for an answer; but others of the wiser sort took it as it was, that all might be fairly and clearly debated, and were much more satisfied, than if I had broke in with my answers before he had done; and they had the less to say of any unfair dealing, or that he could have said more, if he had had liberty from interruptions, &c.

The dispute being ended, and having dined with Major Jordan, who kindly entertained us, we returned that night over Nancemond River to Robert Jordan's, where I staid next day, writing letters, and some part of the dispute. We were again at Chuckatuck on the 12th; and the court-house being in our way, we called there, and all the magistrates were kind to us; Major Jordan and his son left the bench, and walked with us half a mile, parting with us in great respect; and as we walked along, he told me, that he had heard, since the last dispute, we had fifty to one on our side among the people, and that it was thought most of them were turning Quakers. I told him, I was glad to hear it; but thought, I had rather heard they were turned, than turning; for the cross is too hard for many there, as elsewhere, who are convinced, but not obedient, because of the glory and friendship of the world.

On the 13th I set forward for Kicquatan, and went to Nancemond Town, from thence to Queen's Creek, Skimino, Black Creek, Potomack, West River, Pa-

tuxent, and had meetings; and on the 17th of 6th month I arrived safe and well at Philadelphia, to the praise of the great name of the Lord, who was with me in all my exercises, in his mercy and loving-kindness, and by his holy arm sustained me in things too hard for me! To whom be thanksgiving, through Christ Jesus my Saviour, for ever and ever. Amen!

Having had a concern upon my mind for some years to visit Barbadoes, Jamaica, and some other islands in the West-Indies, in the service of truth; and the Lord having wrought a willingness in me, and, in the course of his Providence, made way through many difficulties; on the 18th of the 11th month 1708-9, I sailed from Philadelphia on board a sloop, H. Stephens, master; we anchored at Newcastle that evening, and on the 20th proceeding on our voyage, arrived safe and well at Barbadoes on the 9th of 12th month, after a passage of about fifteen days from the Capes to the island; for which I was truly thankful to the Lord, the over-ruler of all things.

Landing in the morning, and two meetings falling of course that day in Bridge Town, I had the advantage to be there, to my great comfort and satisfaction in the Lord, who was pleased to give me a full confirmation in myself concerning my call thither; though he did not appear much by me then, other than in greatly tendering my spirit before him in silence, and sending forth an efflux of many tears at several times during these two meetings; for I had but a sentence or two to speak in each. On the 16th, after a meeting at the Spring, not being aware of the nature of the climate, I took cold, which proved exercising, and reduced me to so great weakness, that I was not able to attend my meeting for some time. Being a little recovered, on the 27th I was again at the Spring meeting, where I had some concern. I returned that night to Joseph Gamble's, where I staid some days, and then was at meetings at Bridge Town, Spikes, Pumkin-hill, and other.

other places, till the 19th of the 2d month, when E was again at Spikes, and had a meeting; which consisting for the most part of such as come to meetings, the testimony for that day, after a long and heavy time in silence, went against those who had professed truth, and were not faithful; but rather secretly encouraged their children in such things as the testimony of truth is gone forth against in this generation in mixed marriages, in the glory of the world, and love of it; after the meeting I went away indifferent easy.

On the 23d we visited our friend, Nathaniel Curtis, who at that time was very weak, with whom we had some time in prayer; after which he expressed great satisfaction, and said, "It is in vain to make promises to the Lord, considering the weakness and frailty of man; but if it may please the Lord to restore my former health, I hope to be more circumspect, and spend the remainder of my days more to his glory; he is a merciful God, and has been near to help in some times of great extremity." With several such like expressions.

On the 24th we had a meeting at the meeting-house; and next day were at the six weeks meeting at Bridge Town; and after that I was at several other places, till the 10th of 3d month, when I left the island, and accompanied by many friends, went on board the packet-boat, and about two in the morning, we set sail for Antigua; and on the 12th in the afternoon, we came in sight of it, and next morning arrived in the bay. Our friend William Haige met me on the wharf, and from thence conducted me to his house; where I staid till the 15th, being the first day of the week, and then had a meeting in town, which was pretty large and satisfactory, the blessed truth being in good dominion, and the people very sober. On the 16th I went into the country to see our ancient friend Jonas Langford, being now above 80 years of age, and without natural sight; he met me at the door, in the porch,

porch, and, as I took him by the hand, he turned his eyes upwards, and said, "Blessed be the Lord, who gives unto the righteous the desire of his soul." And so, without any more words between us for some time, keeping me by the hand, we sat down together in the hall; and, after some time in silence, we discoursed of such things, and affairs of truth as then occurred: and being openly entertained by him and his wife, there I remained till the fourth day following, being in the mean time visited by several friends.

On the 18th and 22d I was at meetings at John's Town, which were in a good degree to satisfaction. On the 24th I went to see General Park, then governor in chief of the Caribbee Islands, who was very respectful, and free with me on several heads. The packet boat being then in, and being free in my mind, I took my passage in her for Jamaica; but tarrying till the 25th, we then set sail for Montserrat, where we arrived the next morning. We staid at Montserrat till the 28th, then went to Nevis, where I was kindly entertained at the house of John Horn, a merchant there, who, though not of our society, was very respectful. After dinner, we went to see some hot springs near the town, which are so hot, that we could not hold our hands in the water, nor scarce put them in without scalding; and the sand where the water issued, was scarce to be touched, it being so hot, and yet the water pleasant to drink when a little cooled. Next morning we went into the country, about eight miles off, to the house of Mary Wilson, an honest friend; where, in a meeting of about eight or nine persons, the Lord was pleased to give us a comfortable season of his love together, to our great refreshment.

On the 30th we set sail for Christophers, anchored in the road, and on the 1st of 4th month proceeded for Jamaica, where we arrived safe on the 8th following. Soon after our arrival, came on board the ship
our

our friend John Ward, with whom I went on shore, and lodged at his house that night ; the next morning I viewed the town and forts, where I saw great effects of the dreadful earthquake still remaining, though the people were gradually filling up divers deep places with stones, in order to raise new buildings.

The earthquake here was very dismal, and yet such are the wicked expressions, oaths, blasphemies, and profanations of the holy name of Almighty God among the inhabitants, of both sexes; that sober men, who never heard them, would hardly believe, if it were told them, that human nature was capable of so great degeneracy ! Yet I believe the day of God's mercy is not over to some among them. O that they might see it, in the remaining time of it, to their great redemption !

This view finished, I went to see Charles Wager, Rear Admiral of the Blue, of whom there have been accounts of his great achievements in martial marine affairs. My business was only a civil visit. He received me courteously, being a person of a calm, sedate temper, and no way elevated. As he is a man of war, we discoursed on that subject ; and as I am a man of peace, we conversed religiously, and not martially ; he for the punishment of privateers and pirates, as wolves, bears, and tygers ; invaders and breakers of the peace, and robbers ; but I was for saving the life, that poor sinners might have time to repent, and be saved. What passed between us, was with great civility and temper ; the meekness of Christianity being more apparent in his deportment, than any material harshness. Having staid so long as I thought suited our circumstances, on both sides, at that time, and received invitations from him to further acquaintance, I returned on shore.

On the 10th, 12th, and 13th I had meetings at different places, in some persons houses, on the 15th at Spanish Town, on the 22d and 24th at Port Royal
and

and Kingston, and on the 26th had another meeting at Port Royal, which was much larger than before, and many things clearly opened; and the people (though one of the rudest and most wicked places I know of in America) very sober, and attentive, and some of them pretty much reached; leaving things to pretty general satisfaction, to the honour of the Lord, the author of every good word and work, I returned with several friends to Kingston.

On the 28th I went on board a ship from Port Royal, in order for my voyage to Pennsylvania, the next day we reached Port Morant; where we put in for water, and the weather proving unfavourable, we staid there till the 3d of 5th month, when we set sail towards the east end of Jamaica, in order for the windward passage. On the 6th, at break of day, we were in sight of the westernmost parts of Hispaniola; and spied two sail right a-head, which alarmed us, fearing they were the enemy's privateers, but proved otherwise. On the 12th, in the evening, we turned the easternmost point of Cuba, and stood our course all that night, and the next evening came near certain visible sands, called the Hogsties; and, being among several islands, shortened our sail that night, and in the morning found ourselves on the south side of Long-Island. Perceiving a sail to the windward, which came down upon us, and stood the same way, we were a while in suspence what kind of vessel she was, but, in a few hours, were convinced to our great exercise and damage; for, coming within gun shot, we saw his French pendant, and soon after he fired one of his guns to summon us: our captain being of fighting principles, and his men likewise, hoisted the English ensign, and returned his salute, but no loss happened on either side. They quickly perceived how the matter stood with us, that we were not capable of any great resistance, and therefore advanced nearer, and the master of our ship soon yielded to her, who

who was but a small sloop fitted out from Martinico. We being, by God's permission, fallen into their hands, the captain sent on board his lieutenant, a Dane, as he said, who speaking good English, told us not to fear, for we should fare no worse than he; so that they were kind all along as we sailed to Port-a-Pee, on the north side of Hispaniola, where we arrived on the 17th, and came to an anchor.

Whilst we were sailing, they greatly importuned us to discover what we had but little of, viz. money. On the 18th the officers came on board; and having a little Latin among us, we made shift to understand one another, so as no body else knew what we said. Before they departed on shore, they sealed down the hatches, lest any of the goods should be embezzled, and so the admiral of France be deprived of his right. The captain having a jealousy that I had money, ordered me to be searched, but found only my silver spoon, my watch being gone before.

On the 19th we were sent for on shore by the officers aforesaid, and very kindly treated by them; but Jonathan Dickinson and I were under much exercise in spirit, not yet seeing the particular cause, which afterwards appeared to be this: It seems the laws of France require an oath of the owners and masters of vessels, in such cases, the better to discover the value of vessels and things; which they administer by holding up their hands, then imprecating God to their loss of their part in him in case of falsehood, but true answers to make to every question. The master, being not of our society, was sworn, and examined strictly; they next proposed it to Jonathan Dickinson, but he refused, which was a great surprize upon them, and some of them began to be a little heated. Then I told them in Latin, "That we were a people differing
" from all Protestants in several points of religion, and
" that we never swear, neither in judicature, nor conversation; that we had suffered great hardships in
" former

“former times, in England, for refusing to swear; and many of us had died in prison for that cause; that King William had passed an act of parliament in our favour in the case of oaths.”

They replied, “It was a difficult case: their law being very express in the king’s books.” And looked into a printed book often on this occasion. My spirit being under great exercise, whilst they were striving with Jonathan Dickinson, who stood firm against swearing, at last I found ease and comfort in that holy, blessed, and over-ruling truth, whose testimony we were thus called to bear against such a power, and we in the state of prisoners. Soon after they took his testimony, without swearing, or any other asseveration, save a bare, sober relation, by promise only to answer truly. After they had begun their examination of him, the comfort of our blessed Lord, whose presence and shield was with us, so increased in my heart, that my spirit was broken in a consideration of his goodness and faithfulness to us; and some tears running down as I sat by, one of them observed it; and being in a surprize, enquired the reason by the interpreter; but I made them a sign of silence, which they all took, and were still a short time, and then proceeded in their examination; this being over, I told them, the cause of those tears was, “That though it had pleased God to permit us to fall into the hands of these men, yet perceiving, he had been pleased to inspire them with so much gentleness, and favour towards us, my spirit was broken as they observed, in humble thankfulness to the Lord, who was thus kind to us in a time so needful; and for their favour we were likewise grateful.” This they heard with great attention, and bowed themselves when they understood it, with gravity, and a serene and gracious aspect.

On the 22d, in the afternoon, a Jesuit came to the inn where I was, with whom I had some discourse in Latin,

Latin, in which, though I had been long out of use of it, and his dialect and mine much differing, we made a shift to understand one another pretty well. I having a Latin Bible and an English Concordance, quoted several passages from the Old and New Testament; "shewing Christ to be the true light that was promised as such, as the object of faith in the first place, to the Gentiles, and then as a sacrifice for their sins: that though it was the same Christ offered to the Jews, yet under another administration, viz. as born of the Virgin Mary, according to God's promises to them; and that this is *the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.*" All which he could not deny.

After this, he began with their common notions about Peter, quoting Matt. xvi. 18. where Christ says, *"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, &c.* that Peter being the head of the church, the Popes of Rome had succeeded him until this day, and were in his place, Christ's vicars here on earth, and ought to be regarded accordingly in all things." To this I replied, "It is true that our blessed Lord, taking occasion to ask his disciples, *Whom do men say that I the Son of Man am?* Some said one thing, and some another; but Peter said, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God;* upon which Christ replied, *Simon, son of Jona, flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but the Spirit of my Father: Thou art Peter, i. e. a Rock, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* In all which I do not understand that Christ promised to build his church on Peter, but on the spirit, power, and wisdom of the Father, which opened and revealed that great and necessary truth to Peter: for though his name signifies a stone, or rock outwardly, yet such a rock is too weak to bear so great a weight as the church of Christ; but the power of the Father being Almighty, his Spirit all quicken-

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ing, and Wisdom all sufficient, the gates of hell, that is, the wisdom, counsel, and power of hell (for here he alludes to the kings, elders, and people of the Jews, who often held their politick and warlike councils in the gates of their cities) *shall not prevail*; but the council, wisdom, and power of God. And Christ himself being the wisdom, power, and word of God, the Elect and precious Stone, the Head of the Corner, and binding Stone of all the Building, the apostle Paul does accordingly ascribe to him the headship, only, and calls him expressly the foundation, viz. *He is given to be head over all things to the church; and another foundation can no man lay, than that which is already laid, which is Jesus Christ.*

“ But continued I, if it had been true that Peter had been that rock, head, and foundation of the church, as we see he is not, how did they prove that the Popes of Rome had succeeded him in that station? and who was Peter’s successor, when there were two Popes at one time, both pretending to be Peter’s successors?” This question I found was not grateful; and consisting of two parts, he answered only to the latter, and that by another question, viz. “ When King James and King William became competitors about the crown of England, how did the people know which was in the right?” To this I replied, “ There was no parallel; for this was wholly an human affair, and men usually, in such cases, follow the dictates of human understanding, consulting chiefly their own safety, and natural interest. But in matters of religion and divine things, it is quite otherwise; for good and truly religious men, following the example of Christ and his saints, sacrifice all to the cause of religion, though contrary to sense and human reasoning; therein following the revelation, dictates, and openings of the Holy Spirit; which is never wanting to the true and faithful, as the head and foundation of the church of Christ; and his successors, which are only they who follow Christ in a holy innocent life.”

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.. All this the good old man (for so I thought he was) heard with great patience, and without any shew of anger; but made no reply to the matter, only saying, It was near mass time, and he must attend, and that we might have some further discourse another time; but I saw him no more; though I had several discourses with others, who had also a little Latin, and all ended peaceably, these things being generally new to them. In my discourse with the Jesuit, and frequently with others, when I brought scriptures home upon them, and against their sentiments, or for ours, they told me, "This Bible of your's is not truly rendered from the original languages; there are many omissions and undue versions in it." I desired one of their's to compare them; but could not have one among them all: for though they said, that persons of any account among them might read the scriptures, being only prohibited to the ignorant and mean sort, yet none of them could say, they had any scripture, but generally referred me to the father, viz. the Jesuit, except once, that one of them had a New Testament in Latin, in which I could not observe any difference from mine.

On the 23d came Colonel Lawrens, who was governor of the fort there; he gave me an invitation to his house, about two miles off, which I accepted, and was very courteously entertained by him and all his family. The next day, being the first of the week, (as we were told by several of their own people) the Jesuit made us, our principles, and deportment, the whole subject of his sermon: and said, "That we were an innocent and religious people, differing in many points both of doctrine and practice, from all other Protestants, and seemed to have a right faith in Christ; only we seemed too diffident concerning the saints, our duty to them, and the church's power, and the like. But in the end exhorted his people to keep firm in their own religion; and as
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“these people were thus cast among them, to shew
“their Christianity and respect to them.” And so
they generally did, more than could have been expected.
After this I was several days at the governor’s,
and had conversation with him on different subjects,
which he appeared to take well. On the 28th I went
on board the vessel, and next day we set sail for Port
Francois, where we arrived in a few days. The town
is generally built of split cabbage-trees or palms: it
lies along the coast behind the cape; has a dry situa-
tion; is of an oblong square; the ends of the streets
to the sea, and others running across after the manner
of Philadelphia. There were several Jesuits there,
but I had no discourse with any of them. The place
is not healthy, by reason of their brackish water, which
generally has a laxative operation upon the inhabit-
ants; and in a few days I was taken ill of a violent
fever, which, in one night’s time, caused a question in
my mind whether I might survive it! But we find-
ing out a widow, who was of Irish parents, she gave
me the best entertainment she could at her house, and
it pleased the Lord to restore me to my health very
quickly: but not having any means to clear myself of
the effects of it in my blood, it was of ill consequence
to me after this. Though we were not made prison-
ers here, we did not find the inhabitants of this port
so courteous as the former. We found some Protes-
tants, but in secret, among them; and some who
could speak a little English. One day, a Jesuit, in his
pontificals, with bells, cross and such formalities, pass-
ing along with many people; one of our company ask-
ing what they meant? was answered, There was a
man in the town very sick, and the father was going
to administer God unto him; (he meant the conse-
crated bread they call the sacrament) and whilst the
priest prayed within, the people prayed, or seemed to
pray, in the street, kneeling.

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As we had occasion to pass the streets, the inhabitants often viewed us with great seriousness, and seldom derided us. We staid in this port about forty-five days, and were in a great strait what to do; for it is rare to find any passage or correspondence to any other place, save old France or Martinico: so that we were forced to solicit a passage in the small vessel we were taken in, where we had been already fully weary of so very unsuitable conversation; and it was not without difficulty we obtained it for pay. We sailed from hence on the 17th of 7th month, and in the passage met with great difficulties, they reckoning it to be only about two weeks, proceeded accordingly; but when we were far from all land, and much time spent, we were becalmed for about ten days together; and our fresh provisions being near spent, and no prospect of proceeding on our voyage, or of any relief, we came to allowance of water, which was a quart in twenty-four hours; and this not being good at first, was now muddy and stinking. I was taken ill of a violent flux soon after I came on board; by which, and want of suitable accommodations, I was reduced to a very weak condition. Sometimes I lay in the hold, in a mixed company of rude, blaspheming wretches, where we could not sit upright, and close as a stove, in that hot country, which was no small aggravation of my illness. Besides, I was forced by my distemper to rise several times in the night, and sometimes in the rain, and go upon deck out of this stove; at last I grew so weak as not to be able to do it, but lay upon the deck in the open air: my legs were swelled so big, that the skin would scarcely hold, with divers aggravating circumstances; which had been too hard for all my own strength, if I had not been upheld and supported by the never-failing arm of the Lord, who never left me wholly to myself in all my afflictions, and in whose blessed visitations my soul rejoiced in the remembrance of some of my nearest and dearest

friends; who by this time had long looked for us, and were ready to give us over for lost; through the grace of God, I was fully resigned to his blessed will, in dying or suffering, in life or death. At length it pleased God to give us a fair wind, also a little to abate my distempers, and we fell in between Antigua and Montserrat, with the French island Guadaloupe right a-head; and there we put in for fresh water, and other refreshments. On coming to an anchor, the governor of the island heard of us, and sent us word, that there was a flag of truce belonging to Antigua, which he expected at Guadaloupe in a few days, and advised us to come on shore, and stay for the flag; and so we did, being glad, and surprized at this unexpected deliverance. We staid about a week, and were much refreshed, the people being kind. When the flag came, we made known our condition to the captain, who shewed us favour.

On the 26th of 8th month we set sail for Antigua, and arrived there on the 29th: I was cheared in my spirits to meet with some friends, and to be again among people of our own nation. I went to Jonas Langford's, where I was kindly and openly received, and nothing omitted in order to my recovery.

* On the 3d of 2d month, 1714, taking leave of some of my most particular friends and acquaintance, under a suitable concern on all sides, I set sail from Philadelphia, and that night arrived at Newcastle; next day, being first of the week, was at a meeting there, where it pleased my great Lord and Master to favour me with his good presence, and the consolation

* The reader will observe here a chasm of near five years; of which time no account was found among the author's papers, except by a letter to his wife, wrote from Antigua, wherein he mentions his design of getting a passage to Barbadoes, and thence to return home; after this it is supposed he buried his wife, and was mostly engaged in publick business till 1714; when he found a concern to visit Barbadoes. And where the journal commences anew.

of

of it; which I received as a testimony and confirmation, that the Lord was pleased with this undertaking; the next morning we fell down to Elsenburgh, from thence to Lewis, where we staid some days; and on the 15th set sail for Barbadoes: the wind standing southerly, and about the Tropick of Cancer, becalmed, it was the 15th of 3d month before we saw the island of Barbadoes, and that evening landed at the bridge, our desired haven, where I met with a kind reception from my friends, and some others of the inhabitants. I had several meetings in this town, at the spring, and other places; and on the 29th we went with our friend Harrison to visit his mother, brother, and sister, the two women being under some conviction; and my spirit was much comforted in a sense of the love and visitation of God towards them, and my hearty desire and prayer to the Lord was, that they might embrace his merciful offers, whilst he was pleased to continue them; of which I was not without hopes, considering how near they were to truth; waiting at home in silence together for the Lord's teachings, and, in some measure, then sensible thereof.

At the Thickets the meeting being almost wholly lost, I went from house to house among them, exhorting them to more diligence, and they promised amendment. After this I staid in the island till the 24th of 7th month, visiting friends and meetings, when I returned to the bridge, and staid there till the 17th of 8th month, which being the first day of the week, and about to take leave, the meeting was large, open, and free, and truth in dominion, to general satisfaction: and, as many of different persuasions had frequented the meetings during my abode there, so divers expressed their concern at my departure; and I parted with them all in peace and love; leaving the end of all my labours among them to the Lord, for whose sake I was so long there. On the 20th, taking leave of friends, I embarked for London, and after as good

good and comfortable a passage as could reasonably have been expected, the time of the year considered, arrived there on the 6th of 10th month, and lodged at John Crouch's.

The Lord having been with me, to comfort me, and bear up my mind, through divers exercises, arising from weakness of body, and the fatigues of my voyage, through the great ocean, his goodness continued with me, and tendered my heart, after I arrived at this great city, both in my retirements, and also in meetings; where I declined to appear in publick testimony, as long as I could be still in peace, but suffered under the burthen of the word of truth, and a right concern in it, by reason of some forward spirits; who having accustomed themselves to talk of the things of God, in their own power and wills, left me no room in some meetings to discharge my mind of those things incumbent upon me; though friends, who had formerly known me, were very kind, and we were mutually comforted one in another, both in conversations and meetings: the Lord's presence being with us in some meetings, to the honour of his own holy name, and our consolation.

Now, as I returned into my native country, in the drawings of the love of God, and power of his holy commandment, in the simplicity of the blessed truth, I appeared as the Lord was pleased to make way for me, being reconciled unto God, and to all men, and unengaged in their strifes and emulations; which I found to be many. On the first day of the week, in the meeting at Grace-church-Street, I prayed for the king, as my concern was at that season; from which some made this remark, that I was no Jacobite, supposing me, as I may collect from hence, to concern myself, as too many, even among our own selves, unwisely do, in the advancement or disappointment of particular persons unto the thrones and dignities of this world; which I never took to be my business,
but

but to leave it to God; and pray for those he advances in the course of his providence, that they may rule in moral righteousness and truth, and we be protected, relieved, and defended by them, against all those who would oppress or injure us, in things pertaining to this present world.

On the 15th, accompanied by John Crouch, I went to Ruscomb, to visit William Penn and his family. He was under the effects of an apoplectick fit, which had happened to him some time before; for his memory was almost quite lost, and the use of his understanding suspended; so that he was not so conversable as formerly; and yet as near the truth, in the love of it, as before: wherein appeared the great mercy and favour of God, who looks not as man looks: for though to some this might look like judgment; yet it will bear quite another interpretation, if it be considered, how little time of rest he ever had from the importunities of the affairs of others, to the great hurt of his own, and suspension of all his enjoyments till this happened to him.

When I went to the house, I thought myself strong enough to see him in that condition, but when I entered the room, and perceived the great defect of his expressions for want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit, under the consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications; and what the finest of men are soon reduced to by a disorder of the organs of that body, with which the soul is connected and acts, during this present mode of being! Nevertheless, his mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him. And that he had still a good sense of truth was plain, by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of truth, in an evening meeting we had together there; wherein we were greatly comforted: so that I was ready to think, this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life, which

so much oppressed him. From hence I returned to London, where I staid till the 6th of first month, then went towards the north on account of my father; who hearing of my being in Britain, had writ earnestly for me to come to him, he being then about the eighty-fourth year of his age, had lost his sight, and ill of an asthma, and very desirous to speak with me before he departed this life; so I took meetings as they fell in my way, and was at Hertford, Leicester, Nottingham, and Mansfield, from whence I went to Balber Hall, to Sir John Rhodes's; where I was kindly received by him and his mother. Here I staid several days, and had good conversation with them, being very open-minded and courteous, and of a good understanding in the things of God. He was convinced when young, and held his integrity through many temptations, preferring the simplicity of the truth, and the enjoyment of it, before all other things.

On the 27th I was at Hansworth, Woodhouse, being first day of the week, the meeting not large. From hence to Leeds, Kendal, and Carlisle, and to Justice Town, to visit my father, who was glad of my arrival, and very kind. After being at several meetings in these parts, and staying some time with my father, I took leave of him in much tenderness; and on the 24th of 2d month I went to Wigton, where lived some persons who oppose friends, and have been very disturbing in our meetings. Some of them came to the meeting at this time, and behaved with great violence: they had been disowned by the society for their misconduct, which makes them so outrageous. I was at several meetings after this, as Allanby, Pardsay-Crag, Cockermouth, and many other places, till I came to Oxford; where the scholars and others were very violent at this time, breaking the windows, doors, seats, &c and doing great damage to the Presbyterian meeting-house the same evening I arrived there; and the next evening they used our meeting-house in the same

same manner, breaking in by violence, and taking away all the forms and seats that were loose, likewise they took the doors off the hinges, and burnt them, with part of the wainscot, in their bonfire: the room next the meeting-house they also abused and defaced; so that the whole was greatly despoiled. Yet this did not cool their rage; for they broke into the dwelling-house of our ancient friend Thomas Nichols's daughter, then a widow, and did some damage. From thence they went to the Baptist meeting-house, and gutted that, as their term is: and as they came up the street from that piece of service, I lodging at young Thomas Nichols's, we expected the same usage as his sister had met with, and therefore got for safety into the staircase; and as they came up to the house they broke the windows, and so went on without doing us any further harm: I observed, that as Satan raged in them before they came up to the house, truth moved in our minds, and filled us with heavenly consolation and life; so that we were without fear of what they could do further.

By the time all was over, it was about two in the morning; and there came in several of the sober neighbours, who mentioned to us some of this mob's reasons for their violence, as they had found by discoursing with some of them. They said, that some of the low party, being at a tavern in town, there drank healths, and confusions, and spoke of burning the late queen's picture, and Sacheverell's. And in revenge of this they assaulted the Presbyterian meeting-house. Their pretence for using us in the same manner was, because we voted for the low members of the present parliament.

The next morning we went to see the ruins of our meeting-house, many scholars and people being there, I said pretty loud, so that they might all hear, "Can these be the effects of religion and learning?" Young Thomas Nichols likewise put them in mind of Sodom

Sodom and Gomorrah; "and that this was the same "evil spirit which wrought in that wicked generation," upon whom came destruction: "and that if "they continued in such evils, the same just God "might bring like condign punishment upon them." To which they made no reply, but that the mob had done it, and it was ill done: so would have excused themselves; but some others said, they themselves were that mob, and would be met with one day; after some time we returned to our friend's house, and the same day I left the city.

This is one of the blind eyes of this poor nation! one of the fountains of their religion and learning, from whence the whole land is poisoned. Can sweet and bitter waters issue from the same place? Or can religion flow from hence to the nation, where the life of religion is so remote from these vain pretenders? What advantage have they received from learning, who are so destitute of the principles of civil behaviour?

On the 31st of the 3d month I came to London, being about a week before the yearly meeting; which in the main was much more comfortable, through the great mercy of God, than many expected: for as the affirmation, from the beginning of it, had occasioned much disturbance in the church, some being for, and some against it, so these divisions had been very oppressive to my spirit, as knowing nothing could hurt us more than that, or give Satan or evil men more advantage against us: but though I never liked it, yet I ever kept true charity to those friends who were for it, as believing they saw no hurt in it, though I thought I did; I laboured that we might regain, and keep a right temper one towards another; and, as a further solicitation was talked of (the late act being ready to expire) I advised several leading men on both sides, to proceed in one joint interest, as one people; for though we could not all agree about the definition of an oath,
or

or in what relation the affirmation stood to an oath, yet we were as one man still, that an oath is not consistent with Christ's doctrine; and accordingly they did both solicit for a plain affirmation, without the sacred name; but that could not be obtained; all that the parliament would do, was to perpetuate the former, adding some clauses for the levying of tithes. When this came to be discoursed in the meeting, the minds of some on both sides were disturbed; but the Lord was near, and, by his blessed wisdom and power, preserved us in unity, and things came to this good issue, that such as could take the affirmation, might have the benefit of it without censure of their brethren, and such as could not take it, should not be reproached by them; but that the meeting for sufferings should continue their care and solicitations, together with the dissatisfied, for further ease in that point, at a fit season; and with this conclusion both sides were easy. The meeting being thus well over, on the 17th of the 4th month, I went with some friends to Braintree, and from thence to Colchester, to the quarterly meeting, and was likewise at the yearly meeting here; the Lord gave us a comfortable time, exalting his blessed truth and its living testimony, and things were open and clear. I went from hence to Norwich, and was at their quarterly and yearly meeting, which was large, especially the last day, many people attending. The more particular matters wherein I was concerned, being about the kingdom of Christ, the kingdoms of men, and the kingdom of antichrist, with his priestcraft and fallacy; which reached many understandings, and affected the people as well as friends, and truth gained among them to our mutual comfort.

On the 1st and 3d of the 5th month, I was at meetings in the country, and returned upon the 4th to Norwich, next day went by water to Yarmouth, expecting a vessel soon to sail for Holland, in which I intended to go; but the wind proving contrary, we appointed
T a meeting

a meeting here, and on the 7th returned to Norwich, and was at the meeting on a first day. On the 11th I went back to Yarmouth, and staid till the 17th, when I embarked on board the vessel, and arrived at Rotterdam on the 19th. I took up my lodging with my friend and old acquaintance, Robert Gerard, formerly of Aberdeen in Scotland.

On the 20th, being the 4th day of the week, I was at their meeting, which is very small, there not being above four families, and not all under the profession of truth: but the Lord, who is not confined to number, but opened the law and the prophets to the two disciples going to Emmaus, was pleased to visit us together, tender our hearts, by the same word of his grace, and make them burn within us, to our solid consolation.

On the 26th I set forward by Delft, Leyden, and Haarlem to Amsterdam, where the meeting, falling of course the next day after my arrival, was small, and in the fore part of it very heavy and dull, under the temptation of a sleepy spirit, which prevailed on several; there being rather a lukewarmness and declension in this city, than a going forward: but the Lord was pleased to make way for us through this vail of darkness; and the meeting ended in some degree of life. Here Jacob Claus interpreted for me, as Archibald Hope had done at Rotterdam; which being a thing I had not been acquainted with, was a little strange at first, but as I gained experience, it became more easy, and my spirit more at liberty in that exercise. The next day we returned to Haarlem, where we had an appointed meeting: for though they have formerly had a settled meeting there, most of them are become so cold, that they have wholly dropped it, and some of them go among the Mennists. There having been notice given, the meeting was pretty large, most of them Mennists; things opened large and clear among them, and truth was in good dominion in the life and power of

of it; they were generally very quiet, and some of them reached and tendered, and departed in a very solid condition from the place; that night we lodged at Pieter Leendaars.

On the 29th we went to the house of Simon Bevel, to have made him a visit, (he having married a Men-nist, was drawn aside with her, but coming to this meeting was reached and affected) he happened to be gone to Amsterdam; however his wife received us courteously, and brought some of her good things to complete her civility; but we having a greater eye upon the Lord than these, and more towards her good than her entertainment, the Lord was pleased to draw us into a sweet silence; and gave me a few words to her in particular, which reached others present; and then John Padley prayed, and we had a very tender and comfortable season; after which we departed in great love and peace, she inviting us thither again in our return that way, if it should please the Lord so to order it. Having finished this satisfactory visit, we returned to Amsterdam, and were at their first day meeting; which in the forenoon was pretty well filled with strangers, some supposed to be young princes or nobles, by their garb and retinue: things opened clear and well concerning the way of truth, and I was interpreted by William Sewell; the people were very quiet, and many of them seemed concerned, and in some measure reached by the truth. In the afternoon their meeting is usually more select, but now there were more strangers than in common; it was open and comfortable, the Lord being with us, to the praise of his holy name, who is worthy for ever.

On the 2d of the 6th month, being accompanied by Pieter Leendaars as interpreter, we went to Hoorn, in North Holland, and from thence to Twisk, and lodged at the house of H. Grooteval, a friend; next day we had two meetings there, which were open and well, and several tendered and comforted in the truth; whose

whose blessed power was over all. On the 4th we went back to Hoorn, to the house of J. W. Flashbloom, a Mennist, but convinced of truth. Here we had a meeting in the Mennist meeting-house, which was not large, but pretty open and well. That afternoon we went by waggon to Enkhuysen, where we lodged at an inn, and made a visit to one Martin Daniel, a baker, who is convinced of truth, but has not strength to profess it: he and his wife were very kind, and invited us to lodge there, but we declined this, lest we should be burdensome to them, only being there at dinner: I having something to say on that occasion, they were reached, and their hearts still more open; we exhorted them to be noble, and take up the cross freely, and despise the shame; which now, as well as of old, attends the profession of the Lord Jesus, according to the present dispensation.

On the 6th we set sail for Harlingen, in West-Friesland, where we arrived in the evening; and next day, being first of the week, had two meetings in a room which friends have for that purpose, being but two or three small families: several of the Collegian Mennists came thither; but I believe our doctrine, though sound and good according to holy scripture, did not please some of them; though others were well satisfied, and several of them came to see us at our friend, the widow A. Joesten's house, where we lodged: the Lord was with us, and all was well and comfortable, several being touched with a sense of truth. Next morning early we departed in a draw boat, and went by the way of Franker, Leuwarden, and Donum, to Groningen, where we arrived that night, and lodged at an inn. The next morning we went towards Delfzell, and from thence over the river, and up the shore of East-Friesland, to Embden, where we found only one poor old widow, remaining under the profession, called Hester Jans; after taking some refreshment at an inn, we went to visit her; which she took well, and
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was rejoiced to see us : after that we walked through much of the city, but were all of us greatly loaden in our spirits, in a sense of the power of darkness. Returning to our inn under this sense, it pleased the Lord to visit us together in a time of holy silence, and make us sensible of his divine love to a people there ; in which our spirits were released from the other load, and became now freighted with a burthen of love, in order to a visitation of some of them : and accordingly next day we had a meeting at the widow's house, at which a considerable number were present, and generally sober ; some of whom were well affected ; we had a comfortable time, the Lord being with us, and the principle and doctrine of truth was clearly opened, in a good degree of life and love, and the people departed in a visible solidity, in a general way, so that I have hopes of the place, that the inhabitants will receive truth, and entertain it better than heretofore ; for there were several friends here formerly, who being greatly persecuted, some went away, and others died. But this city falling into a very sensible decay, (as persecuting cities and kingdoms do) and the burghers reflecting upon their former behaviour to friends, began to be sensible, in some measure, of their error, and would now gladly receive any friends that would settle among them : and who knows but that if they continue humble, and in that good mind, the Lord may both send, and also raise many among them, to his own glory, and their great comfort in him. Being returned to our inn, we had a message from Hendrick Qwart, a considerable merchant in the city, and his wife, to invite us to dinner ; we declined that, but gave them to expect a visit as we passed that way ; and we went accordingly, and were very kindly entertained. After which we departed the city, the people in the streets shewing no dislike, but rather civility, as we passed along. We came to Leere that night, and on the 11th went to Detran, Apen, and Olden-

burg. On the 12th we proceeded in an open waggon, (they being so in this country, and not so commodious as in Holland, where the people are the most regular in many things, I ever yet observed.) We went by Delmenhorst, to the city of Breme; where we heard that the plague was at Altora, within a mile of Hamburg, whither we were going; and that it was shut up and guarded on all sides; about six hundred soldiers being appointed by the Hamburgers, with consent of the King of Denmark, to that service. This gave us some exercise; for it looked, to human reason, a little dangerous to proceed towards a place so circumstanced, and by other towns and places, where we must expect strict examination, besides our own personal danger of the sickness: but, after some inward retirement, our way was cleared up, through all difficulties, and we resolved to proceed on our journey and service. Here we spoke with Sarah Schreders, a friendly woman. She told us of some others who favoured the way of truth; that there was a division among the people about religion; and one of the preachers having come near the doctrine of truth, telling them, that outward baptism, and bread and wine, without the substance, would not do, was silenced by a prevailing party, but had still many on his side: feeling some degree of openness in my mind to the inhabitants, I kept the place in my remembrance, intending that way on our return.

We proceeded to Otterburg, and passing through some other places, came on the 14th to Hamburg, where we gained admittance, after being strictly examined. Our friend Jacob Hagen received us kindly, but we could not have a meeting this day, because the people were generally at their worship, and none there of our society but himself, and but few inclinable that way: but the next day, being second of the week, we had a meeting at his house, and he being acquainted with most of the merchants, and persons of account, being

being respected in the city; and having given notice to such as he thought religiously inclined, there came several of considerable note, as to worldly circumstances, some of whom appeared rather like persons of curiosity, and my spirit was much down, and under heaviness, till about a quarter of an hour had passed; the truth then began to appear in my mind, and soon arose in me over their spirits, and then I had courage and strength; things opened much to the inward appearance of the divine word, they were brought under in some degree; and it was a good meeting: most of them took us kindly by the hands after the meeting was over, and passed away very solidly. One of them was Depelius, Chancellor and Counsellor of the King of Denmark.

Remaining here till the next day afternoon, Jacob Hagen related the following passage, viz. "In the year 1712, the Czar of Muscovy, being in the city of Fredrickstadt, in Holstein, about two days journey from hence, with 5000 soldiers, to assist the Danes against the Swedes; after he had quartered his men, enquired of one of the Burgomasters whether there were any of the people called Quakers there? The said officer told him there were a few.

"The Czar asked him if they had a meeting in that place? He told him they had. Then the Czar bid the officer let the friends know, that if they would appoint their meeting that forenoon, being the first day, he would be at it. The officer replied, that there were thirty of his soldiers in the meeting place; so that there could not be any meeting in it. When the Czar heard that, he was angry that they had put soldiers there, and sent an order by one of his own captains, that they should all be put out forthwith, and that notice should be given to the friends by the captain, that if they would appoint their meeting, he would come to it. Accordingly notice was given thereof to Jacob Hagen, then at Frederickstadt, and Philip

Philip Defair, a publick friend, who lived there; and the place being made ready, they had their meeting at the second hour afternoon; to which the Czar came, and brought with him Princē Menzicoff, the General Dolgorucky, and several other of his Dukes, Generals, and Secretaries of State, and other great men; and a great crowd following, he ordered the door to be shut, as soon as a competent number were in to sit comfortably; but many came to the windows, and about the house. After some time of silence, Philip Defair preached the doctrine of truth among them, and all sat very quiet, but especially the Czar, who sat likewise very gravely all the time of silence; and the others, being awed by his example and presence, did so likewise; but the Muscovite Lords and Generals not understanding the language, and the Czar understanding it pretty well, interpreted to them what was declared with much seriousness; commending what he heard, saying, That whoever could live according to that doctrine would be happy. The meeting ending, Jacob Hagen was about to speak to the Czar; but a person, who had farmed of friends the rest of the house, and when the soldiers came had shewed them the meeting-room, and so saved his own part clear; fearing the consequence, if his proceeding had appeared to the Czar, craftily stept to him, and thanking him for freeing the place of the soldiers, requested that he might have leave to put a paper on the house door, to signify it was a place of worship, the Czar having ordered that all churches should be free from his soldiers. By this means our friends were prevented at that time from speaking to the Czar, who, whilst there, went to several other places of worship, but did not seem to be pleased with any but our meeting. A friend after this presenting him with Robert Barclay's Catechism and Apology in High Dutch, he said, he would have them translated, and printed in his own language."

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On the third day after dinner, as we were sitting together, I felt my mind secretly reached, and we were all drawn into silence, and, after some time, to prayer; in which we were comforted. And this being a little over, notice was given to Jacob Hagen, that there was an order come from the King of Denmark to shut up the city of Hamburg, as Altona was, he being informed that the plague was also among them. We being prepared by so good a season, were not surprized at it; but, having no further concerns here at this time, we were advised, lest the place should be shut up, and we detained there, to depart that afternoon on our way; which we did accordingly, though some of us could have been free, and rather have staid longer. We left the city about five in the evening in an open waggon, the driver of which going on slow, and it raining, we were much wet before we reached an inn late in the evening, where we found but mean accommodations, some of us lying on straw, and covered with wet clothes. On the 17th early we set forward, but it raining still, we were very wet, and all of us had taken cold. The next day we arrived at Fredrickstadt, and went to the house of our friend Gysmond Outerloo. On the 19th we had a meeting in the town, where came many of the inhabitants, and some of the best rank, in common acceptance: things opened full and clear, and they were generally satisfied, and some tendered.

On the first day following we had two meetings, which were large and open; after one of them, I spoke thus to the people before they departed. "That since
"there was such a difference between our English
"language and theirs, that the same matters delivered
"in the former, could not so quickly be delivered in
"all respects to the same advantages in the other, they
"might not well apprehend every thing according to
"the true intent of it; and our testimony, by that
"means, might suffer loss, and some might not have
"the

“ the full benefit of it : therefore I told them, that if
“ any scruples arose, we were ready, at any convenient time and place, to explain every thing, or remove any objection.” But we heard of none any where among them.

On the 23d we went with several friends to the city of Tuning, about nine English miles from Frederickstadt, to try if we could have a meeting ; and several were spoke to, but none would entertain a meeting in their houses, being afraid of their priest (they are generally Lutherans). We went to the house of the chief Burgomaster, to have spoke to him about a meeting in the town, but he was not at home.

I think it not improper here to mention what happened to Christopher Meidel,* who had been concerned to visit this place about seven or eight years ago. Coming to the town, then under the command of the Swedes, “ he preached the truth in the open streets ; and some were affected with his innocency and doctrine : but the magistrates sent soldiers to apprehend him, and take him out of the city, and the centinels were ordered not to suffer him to come in again ; so that he lay two nights without the gates, one in the fields, and another in a farmer’s house : but though the soldiers could not suffer him to go into the city, yet they were very respectful to him, and he spoke much of the way of truth among them ; which seemed to take place with several. At length he sent to the governor of the city, who was also the chief military officer, desiring to speak with him ; and when he came to him, Christopher made known his case, desiring he might have liberty to clear his mind to the people. The governor was respectful, and told him, if he had applied to him first, before he had been put out of the city by the magistrate’s order, he could have

* He had sometimes been a preacher to the Danish chapel, at Wellclose near Ratcliffe, London ; but being convinced, and faithful, had received a part of this ministry.

answered

answered his request ; but since they had done it, if he should now protect him, it would raise a difference, which he thought was not proper at that juncture of affairs there. After they had reasoned the case fully, the governor took a handful of money, which he would have presented to him, on account of his being a traveller and stranger, to bear his charges ; but Christopher refused it, with acknowledgments of his kind offer. And so departed from the place."

Upon our going away, we informed some of the people that we intended a meeting next day at Fredrickstadt ; and the meeting was accordingly held. The magistrates of Tuning, and several of the chief of the inhabitants, made some amends for their remissness the day before at their own city ; for both the Burgo-masters came to the meeting, with many others, as also many of the inhabitants of Fredrickstadt, and places adjacent, with several teachers of different societies, and were generally sober ; the blessed truth reigned over all, to his own glory ; and I believe many were touched with a sense of the virtue of it, and their understandings in some degree opened. The principal matter delivered was " concerning the law written in the heart ; the light of the Gentiles, and the universality of it ; the necessity of faith in that light, and advantages arising thereby ; that though this law of the spirit of life come by Jesus Christ, makes free from the law of sin and death, where it is truly opened and revealed ; yet this being compared to a book in the hand of the angel, *there is none in heaven, or earth, or under the earth, can open it, but the Lion of the tribe of Judah, which is the Lord Jesus Christ, who came of that royal tribe ; and therefore it is in vain to depend upon the learned, who cannot open it, because it is sealed ; or the unlearned, because they are so ; nor upon the princes or potentates of this world, who also are unable, but upon the Lord alone. For as none knows the things of a man, but the spirit*

spirit of a man that is in him; so no man knows the things of God, but by the spirit of God; and the spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God: and, as the vail was over the heart of the Jew, whilst the law was read unto him, and he in hearing the law, is still ignorant of the spirit; even so the Gentiles, though the law is written in them, it is even in their hearts; and though they read the Holy Scriptures, which testify of the true and living God, and also of his Son Jesus Christ, and also hear the things of God declared, by the hearing of the outward ear; yet so long as the law is sealed up in the heart, they neither understand the Scriptures, which are some of the things of God, nor what is spoke unto them, though in the wisdom and demonstration of the Holy Spirit. I exhorted them therefore, to believe in the Son of God, the light of the Gentiles, who once had appeared to the Jews in that holy body, and fulfilled the will of the Father therein, is also come in spirit according to his promise; by whom all are taught that believe, and have a divine understanding by him: but the wise and learned in this world, by all their wisdom know not God; but one giving one opinion, and another giving another, concerning the mysteries in the Holy Scriptures, they have led those that followed them into great confusion; and being departed from the spirit of the Lord Jesus, the Prince of Righteousness and Peace, they are gone into wars and destruction, making outward as well as inward desolation; in which they have proceeded to such a degree, that professed Christians have commixed the blood of one another with the blood of horses and cattle in the open fields." O great abomination before the Lord!

These, and many more close things, were delivered among them in the authority of the living truth: and I heard of none but one priest that was dissatisfied, who thought I bore too hard upon the learned, and left them too little share in the knowledge of the things

things of God, wherein he mistook me; for though their learning without the spirit doth not qualify them to teach the things of God, they are not unqualified only by having it; but, as subservient to truth, it may be, and is really, useful.

On the 25th we were at their monthly meeting at Fredrickstadt, which was altogether of friends, who, though few in number, the Lord was near, and we were tendered and comforted together in his holy love: which alone edifies the whole body, which is one in all lands. After this we visited the widows and fatherless among friends in the town, there being seven widows, and one with seven small children, their husbands having died in a great sickness some time before; we staid several days longer, and had meetings to good satisfaction. There was likewise a marriage of two friends, to which came a great number of people, notice having been given of it largely beforehand. The Lord was pleased to favour us with his presence, and open things suitable to the occasion.

On the 31st we set forward from hence, accompanied by most of the friends, and some others, and parted with them near the river in much love, wherein we had been drawn to visit them.

At the town of Mildorp, in our way, where we tarried to refresh ourselves, I, with Pieter Leendaars, went into a place of worship belonging to the Lutherans, being open, where we observed several pictures and images (as they say) of Christ, in several conditions, as, on the cross, risen again, &c. and one of a golden colour all over. Here were painted and wooden Christs, in statuary and imagery, painted heaven, and painted hell, painted saints, and this among professors of Christ, pretending reformation from the church, which is condemned for idolatry; and all is justly condemned by the Holy Scriptures, and by the practice of the saints in all ages. I asked our landlord, "why they had so many images of Christ in their churches

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“and houses?” He answered, “It is to put us in mind of Christ.” I replied, “It seems you do not love Christ so well as you should, since you want so many outward mementos of his outward appearance; but the primitives had the mind and spirit of Christ; they bore in their own bodies the dying of the Lord, and wore his cross in their hearts; by which they were crucified to the world, and the world unto them, with all its show and vain glory: and this cross is that living virtue and life of Christ appearing in men’s hearts now, as well as in those days; working the same effects in all who believe, follow, and obey it, being the saving grace and light of Christ unto all people.” This seemed strange to him, as appeared by his countenance; yet, I believe, it answered his conscience, for he made no reply; I felt the love of truth to him, and the people there, but nothing for a meeting at that time. We proceeded on our journey, and came on the 2d of 7th month to Breme, where we had been before, and were kindly received; but I having taken cold, and lying between two feather beds (their way of lodging) an intermitting fever, to which I had of late been subject, returned upon me, and I sweat exceedingly; which much impaired my health and strength. In the morning we spoke with Sarah Schreders, and found things were at a low ebb among them relating to truth, hardly any of them having courage to entertain a meeting, fearing the magistrates and priests, there being both Lutherans and Calvinists. However, we went to some of their houses, and more of them being together, they took courage, and consented to a meeting next day, which was held accordingly in an apartment: there came more than we expected, and the Lord was pleased to be with us, to our help and comfort; but so cowardly were most of them, that as my voice began to be raised, so as to be heard further than the room or house, they could hardly sit for fear; which both hindered themselves
much,

much, of what otherwise they might have received, and also made my exercise the greater: yet they staid the time of the meeting, and several of them were broken and tendered; and generally very loving when we parted with them after the meeting. Before we went from the house, we had a message from one Pieter Frederick Detry, who desired to see us at his house; which we also had been desirous of, but had heard he was under exercise of mind, and so retired, that he did not care to converse with any body. When we were going in, he received us at the entrance of the door very respectfully, and took us into a room; where, being placed, we were silent awhile; and some things opening in my mind suiting his condition, I spoke them, wherewith he was well satisfied: after I had done, he spoke a few words, by which I perceived he was in a good degree illuminated by the divine truth; and, in a sense of a fresh spring of love and life at that time in my soul, I was much broken, which also reached him; and, after some time in that condition, we were bowed in prayer, where I found my spirit much more at liberty than in the meeting, and the Lord gave us a divine season of his love, and a visitation thereof together at that time. When this was over, we fell into some conversation; wherein he was very open and free, and informed us, that he had in his first concerns in the world followed merchandize; wherein he had gained well: but a desire entering his mind to be helpful to mankind in a better concern, he went to the college, and studied about five years; when, finding himself sufficiently qualified, as he thought, for the work he aimed at, which was to be a teacher among the Calvinists, he took that function upon him accordingly, and had been very acceptable among that people there: but it pleased God to open to him the emptiness of the priests, and all outside shews and formalities in religion, he had accordingly published his sentiments openly, in his sermons,

sermons, especially as to the insufficiency of human learning, without the spirit of Christ in a ministry; and that such a ministry could never profit the people, but greatly hurt them; he said much to this purpose; and added, that he expected very soon to be cast out from among them, for this and other doctrines he had preached, contrary both to their principles and practices; but being clear in his understanding, and having peace from the Lord in what he had done, he was resolved, by the grace of God, to maintain his doctrine against them, let them do what they would. This was acceptable to us, and he was thankful to the Lord for our visit; which, he said, was a strength and confirmation to him. He mentioned what is said of Christ during his personal appearance, "That many believed in him, but durst not own him for fear of the Jews, and being cast out of the synagogue:" which he knew, at that time, he said, was the state of a great many in that city, who were convinced of the way of truth, but were not yet able to confess it in an open manner; but was in hopes the Lord would give them strength in time to own him freely: and this was also our apprehension of that people.

At our parting he embraced us with much affection, wishing us a prosperous journey, and desiring we might remember one another in the Lord. We were told by some friendly people, that this young man, being more spiritual in his doctrine than any of all the rest in town, was much admired and followed by the people, which raised the emulation and envy of the priests, and they watched occasion against him; but being of a holy life, and much pressing that in his ministry, they could not find any that way, till he set forth the necessity of inspiration, and the spirit of Christ in a gospel ministry; and that all who were made ministers only by men, without the power of Christ (which alone can make a minister, and that without

without any help, power, or authority from man) were only intruders, and pretenders, and no true ministers: nor were the ministers of Christ to teach for hire, but freely. This was what they had now against him, and had him at this time under dealing, having admonished him twice, and the third time at hand, in order to cast him off, and silence him.

Thus it appears, though he had gone to the college with intent to qualify himself, being now better informed, he had leaned on the Lord for strength and wisdom, and not upon his learning, in which he was not inferior to them.

We heard also of some others, in other places, cast off for the same reasons: so that the Lord is at work in many hearts against antichrist and his ministers in several parts of the world; and that day drawing near, wherein *alas, alas!* with wringing of hands, must be the condition and cry of all the broken merchants of Babel, for their ware will sell no longer, because there is wine and milk, yea, all dainties and delicate things, to be had freely at the table of the Lord, in his holy city, without money and without price: *For the spirit and bride say, Come; and he that heareth saith, Come; and whosoever will come, may come, and drink of the water of life freely.*

Soon after this visit we left the city, and went by way of Oldenburg to Leer; here we spoke with a religious person, who had formerly been a teacher among the Baptists in that place, and very acceptable to them, being of a good conversation; but through an inward conviction, that he had taken upon him what the Lord had not called him to, he left it off, and lived retired, and not in communion with any; but loving all that were honest and spiritually minded.

Desiring to have a meeting here, this man went with us to have spoke with the Baptist teacher in the town, who being absent, we went to the house of one of the elders, by whom we understood we could not

have a meeting in their meeting-house, as some of our friends had the year before: for a Calvinist minister had come from Embden, since we passed that way, and preached that the wars, and other plagues were in the countries, because of ~~the~~ tolerating so many bad sects of religion (smiting more especially at them and us) and they themselves having liberty only by connivance, the meeting our friends had before, occasioned their liberty to be drawn into question. And, complaint being made against them, the matter was depending in the court, and they knew not how it would issue; whether they should not be banished the town on that account, for none have toleration there, by the Emperor's order, but Papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists. Upon this I told them, "We were not come there to add to their sufferings; but were sorry it should happen so on that occasion, which was not intended for their hurt, but the good of all;" and I took this opportunity to inform them, "how we in Britain, and elsewhere, professing truth, had been persecuted from the beginning: some by banishment from our native country; others had suffered long and hard imprisonments, even unto death, in dirty and stinking dungeons; some, spoiling of goods, and loss of lands, with cruel whippings, derisions and mockings; some had also been hanged, and thrown into pits, for the testimony of Jesus, which we were now preaching in these countries. But the Lord was with us in all this, and was our support and comforter, making way for us, so that we have now as much liberty as any others. I told them also, that the Lord had visited a people in France; but they being yet weak, and flying the cross, left their native country, and fell short of that testimony given them to bear; but the Lord being still at work among them, they would at length stand as we had done, and come up in the same thing, though in another name (for the world being ignorant of the work of God, give names as they list, and all in contempt and derision)."

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I also observed, "that there were many here in Germany, and the countries about, convinced in their hearts of the same truth and divine principle of light; who being yet weak, and fearing persecution, were not willing openly to own it; which might be to their own ruin: for Christ, who is the light of the world, said, *He that confesseth me before men, him will I also confess before my Father, and the holy angels; but he that denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my Father, and the holy angels.*"

I proceeded to say more on the subject, the man and his wife, with several of their children, who were grown up to young men and women, being present, and were reached and solid; so that we had a comfortable time among them. After having some conversation with others, who appeared to be well disposed, we departed, and that evening came to Embden.

Soon after our arrival, we went to see our ancient friend Esther Jans, and the next day had a meeting in a large granary, and the day after another in the same place; both which were in a good degree to satisfaction, and a pretty large number present. After this, we made a visit to Hendrick Zwart, the merchant who invited us to his house, as we passed that way to Frederickstadt. He was very open and free with us, and we found him ready to own the truth in all things we opened to him, which were many.

On the 9th we departed from this city for West-Friesland, and came in the evening to Groningen, where we had three meetings, to which came a pretty many Mennists: the Lord was pleased to be with us; and many things concerning the light and spirit of Christ, and the word of God, were opened to them, I think, to general satisfaction, though against the doctrine held by many of them with regard to the divinity of Christ, which was fully proved. There was a Lutheran at all the meetings, a man of some account
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in the city, who was reached, and tender in the last meeting. Another person, an apothecary of the town, was also at the meeting, and well satisfied, inviting us to his house; where he confessed freely, that water baptism could not be that commanded, Matt. xxviii. 19. but practised for some time, in some places, in condescension to the weakness of the people, and upon its first bottom in John's time, as was circumcision, and other legal rites.

In the afternoon we departed the city, in a draw-boat, and arrived about ten at night at Dockum, where we had a meeting next morning in the Baptist meeting-house. We went from hence to Holfert near the sea-coast, where we prevailed with the Mennists to have a meeting in their house, which was large, and more open than the other; but after the meeting was ended, one of them, as is usual in their own meetings, read a verse of the 75th Psalm, and they went to singing before we got out; I found myself easy to stay till they had done, for there was soon something in my mind to say to them on that occasion. And liberty being granted, at the conclusion, I spoke to this effect:

“That I had once been amongst a people who used to sing psalms, and it was a custom among many still; but I desired them to consider the foundation of their singing, whether it was any part of the worship of God, or that he required it of them as such: and also, whether they all sung their own conditions: for things might be true in the Psalmist, which were not so in them; as for instance, a high-minded proud man's singing, that he behaves himself as a weaned child, in silence and rest, is not true; nor can any sing in that state. The apostle Paul says, *I will pray with the spirit, and with the understanding also.* And sing also in like manner; and speaks of making melody in the heart to the Lord in hymns and spiritual songs; but nothing of singing other men's psalms without the spirit.”

I said.

I said likewise, "that I had observed in these countries, among such as think themselves reformed, much of outward shew, as images, pictures, and also high and lofty instruments of musick, which had not been duly considered in their reformation."

This last some seemed not to relish so well as the former part, but we had the countenance and approbation of some of their teachers; and parted with them in friendship. From hence we went to Drachten, where we had a meeting with the Mennists, which was large; the Lord was kind to us, and advanced his blessed truth over all, in the wisdom and power of it; and many things were opened and cleared to them to a general satisfaction. After the meeting was over, some of their preachers shewed us kindness, declaring their unity with our doctrine. And one of them said, "I hope we shall all one day meet in the kingdom of heaven!" and so we parted in peace and love. This is as hopeful a meeting as any I have yet seen among them.

It was with difficulty I proceeded on my journey, on account of pain and weakness of body, my natural spirits being much exhausted by a fever; yet the Lord was good, and gave me strength in a large exercise in another meeting with the Mennists at Goredyke, and the truth was over all, to the satisfaction of both the teachers and hearers. After this we had a meeting in the Mennists meeting-house at Heerveen, which was not large, but open and fresh; and many things of great consequence were made plain beyond expectation, which made me look a little at the people, they not seeming, by outward appearance, like such as might have a capacity to take what they heard; but what opened was declared. In the time of the meeting came in a person, who, by his garb and behaviour, looked like a gentleman (as such are usually called among themselves) and he was very modest and serious. After the meeting was past, and we retired to
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our inn, our host informed us, that he was in an outer room, where several persons of more than common note had placed themselves to hear us; our host invited them in, but they declined it, because they supposed it might be some surprize upon the poor people, and make some disorder in the meeting, which was already settled and quiet. This was civil, if that was their true reason; which I have no cause to doubt.

One point opened in the meeting was to this purpose; viz. "When our blessed Lord, in the days of his flesh, on a certain time was preaching to the Jews, he said, *Except ye eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you.* Again, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, the same dwelleth in me, and I in him.*" This doctrine offending the multitude, they said, "*How can this be? How can this man give us his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink? This is a hard saying, who can receive (or bear) it? and from that time they went back, and followed him no more.* And so great was the mystery of this saying, that the apostles seemed (at least some of them) to be staggered at it; which occasioned the Lord to say to them, *Will ye also leave me? But Peter said, Whither shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life.* Signifying, that he and the rest had tasted of the divine virtue that accompanied his doctrine to such as believed. Agreeable to what is said by Christ, *My words, they are spirit, and they are life.* The meaning therefore of these expressions, *Except ye eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you;* is, that the spirit only quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing.

"Which is as if he had said, If ye would eat my flesh, and drink my blood in your carnal sense, and as ye literally take it, that eating and drinking of my flesh and blood would profit you nothing; but the substance is my Spirit, which makes alive, and also strengtheneth and nourisheth all who partake of it. Now, there are

are certain people, who suppose and believe, that as soon as their priests have uttered certain words of consecration, as they call them, over a piece of bread, or wafer, or cup of wine, that this bread is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ, even the same that was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem about seventeen hundred years ago, and that cup into the same blood that was then shed. Now, supposing this was really true, as it is plain to common sense it is not; yet this eating and drinking this flesh and blood would profit them nothing: therefore it is great pity that so much bloodshed and cruel destruction should have been made, under pretence of that, which, in comparison of his quickening Spirit, profiteth nothing. But this blood must be reckoned for, and the day hastens."

Though I was thus plain in the open meeting, and it was interpreted unto them, I heard of no dislike or objection in any.

A remarkable thing was here related to us, which I thought worth notice, viz. one Talken Corsten, a Mennist, who lives at a town called Mackom in Friesland, told us, "that some years ago, our friend Sarah Collier, being in these parts, desired a meeting with them in the meeting-house, which they refused her; but he himself had a secret desire of a meeting, and gave her the liberty of his house, where a meeting was held accordingly, to good satisfaction. After the meeting, Sarah had a desire to make his wife a visit, who then lay ill of an issue of blood, which had been upon her for about twelve or thirteen years. Being conducted into her chamber, she was concerned to pray by her, for her help and deliverance from that malady, and great exercise of it; and to his admiration, and also his wife's, and all who had opportunity to observe it, his wife recovered presently upon it, and has been well ever since."

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He earnestly desired we would come to that town, promising he would let us have a meeting in his house.

After this we had meetings among the Mennists at several other places, as Jever, Oudeboone, Grow, and Lewarden; meeting with a kind reception, and tokens of approbation, both from the teachers and hearers: at Grow, H. Gosses, the preacher, came to us after the meeting, and taking me by the hand, he embraced me, expressing much satisfaction before the people, and received us to his house gladly: we found his wife also in the same mind with him, open hearted and kind.

At Lewarden the meeting was larger than we expected, and very still; many things were opened to them in the wisdom and power of truth, especially "concerning the fall of the first Adam, with his posterity, the temptations and victory of the second Adam, and the overcoming and salvation of all who believe and obey him, but the final loss of all who disbelieve and disobey him; for he is the same Word who was in the beginning, and in whom was life, * *and that life the light of men*; and, by whom that prohibition came, † *Thou shalt not eat; for in the day thou eatest, thou shalt surely die.* And eating, they died unto that life, and became blind also unto that light, and so fell from God, who is that light: therefore the posterity of the fallen man must again believe in the same word, light, and life, and also obey and follow him; or else he remaineth in death and condemnation: and so departing this life (having a day of visitation by this light, which is the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and that once was made flesh, and dwelt among them) are concluded under death and darkness for ever: for he said to the Jews, *He that believeth not, is condemned already: that is, whosoever*

* John i. 4.

† Gen. ii. 17.

hath sinned, as the first Adam did, though not in the same thing, is under condemnation and death; but true faith coming by the word of life in him who hath it, and justifying the sinner from his sins, maketh him holy, just, and true; for this faith purifies the heart, works by love, and overcomes the world: then such are free, and live to God, and no more to sin: then they keep that great saying of Christ, *As I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love, even so do ye keep my commandments, that ye may abide in my love; and then, He that hath the Son, hath the Father also; and he that hath the Son, he hath life indeed, even life eternal.*"

The meeting being ended, the countenances of the people were open and free, and Wopke Clauses, a ruling elder in the congregation, kindly embraced us, and invited us to his house; but intending to depart very soon in the boat, there was not time for it. We got well to Harlingen that night, to the house of A. Joesten, a friend, and the next day had a meeting, which was small, and not very open; several of the people called Collegians were there; some necessary truths were clearly opened, especially relating to the divinity of Christ (which they commonly deny) as also his baptism with the Holy Spirit. We had two meetings after this more open, held in a room that friends have here; for they hold a meeting, though few in number; truth seemed to gain upon them, so that we heard of no objection made by any. We departed hence on the 22d, and came to Worcum, a town on the coast, where the Mennist teacher allowed of our having a meeting in their house; most of the heads of them were there, and very sober, hearing attentively several things of moment opened to them; one of which was, "That it is not our embracing true principles and notions doctrinally, and so sitting down under these, and an imitation of good and godly men, that will bring us to heaven, unless we be also in the

same life and virtue in which they were ; nor can any inherit the kingdom of heaven, unless they be in the nature of heaven ; which cannot be but by regeneration by the word of God ; the same that was made flesh, and now appears a quickening Spirit." This they seemed to receive well, though their meeting was not very open, as to life, but laborious, yet solid, and ended well in free and open prayer. After the meeting, we visited the woman who was healed, as before-mentioned ; and she, with two or three more who came to the house, are tender, and under conviction. After a short prayer with them, we exhorted them to meet together, and wait upon the Lord by themselves in silence.

This afternoon we passed along the coast to Hindelopen, where arriving before night, we procured a meeting with the Mennists (that sort called Collegians) in their meeting-house ; which began about the sixth hour. It was pretty large considering the time, and but a small town, most of their chief people were there, and also one of their preachers. This was the most open meeting we had on that coast ; many things of great weight were made plain and clear to the understandings of several ; one person expressed his satisfaction, though the divinity of Christ was fully set forth, and proved according to scripture : shewing them, " that the divine nature is not the human nature ; neither is the human nature (abstractedly considered) the divine nature : but the divine word, assuming a reasonable soul, by an inseparable union, and clothing that soul and word with that holy body, born of the Virgin Mary : this is the true Christ, and so appeared to the Jews : but the divine word, clothed with that holy soul as a veil, now appears to us Gentiles, as he is light ; not appearing to us in the brightness of his Godhead ; for so we cannot behold him in the state we are in : but being thus veiled by a soul homogeneous to us, being of our nature ; here we begin to

to perceive him; till by degrees we are changed, so as to behold him in future; and more excellent glory, as to degree of manifestation."

The meeting ended in much sweetness in prayer, and I had great peace after it, and was very easy, as if I had done on that side the sea. We were at Malkwern, and Staveren, but no suitable opportunity being found for meetings at either of these places, and being easy to pass over to Enkhuysen, we embarked about two in the afternoon, and arrived there, through the goodness of God, our great Protector and Saviour, well, and in great peace with him, about seven in the evening. We went to the house of Martin Daniel, a friendly man, to answer the kind invitation he had given us as we went that way before; but discoursing with him about a meeting, he told us there was hardly any in all that great city, who inclined to come to a meeting, being generally Calvinists, and not in want. Finding things so cold, and expecting better service elsewhere, we concluded not to stay, but, before we departed, I exhorted them to be true and faithful to the Lord, according to the degree of manifestation they had, and then they might expect more. After a tender time in prayer, we parted in peace.

In our way to Twisk, we called to see Diric Mindersen, at Bennawisent, a village, having heard he desired it. He had been a Mennist, but, for some time had withdrawn himself from their worship, and remained alone; but his two daughters, inclining to our meetings, he had given them their freedom, and himself also had an inclination to truth. He received us very kindly. And, after a time of silence, John Padley had some words in prayer; I also having had a secret concern whilst I was there, after John had done, spoke to this effect: "That the Lord was at work in many hearts to draw men under his own blessed teachings; and the voice of the angel of the covenant of life was now calling unto the people of God, yet in Babylon,

lon, to come out of her; not to be partakers with her in her sins, lest also they should partake of her plagues: and so exhorted him to be true and faithful unto the Lord, in what he knew, and the Lord would soon make him wiser than all his former teachers."

I then kneeled down in prayer, and we had a comfortable season, and parted with him in much tenderness. At Twisk we were kindly received by our friend H. Jonsen, and the rest of friends there: were at their meeting, which was not large of itself, but there being several of the sober neighbours at it, the little place was full: but here, where we might have expected more openness, than in many other places, being most of them such as make some profession of truth, I was sensible of as great a power of darkness as in any place we had been in, all this journey; and the meeting was accordingly dull, and hard, a long time in silence; but the Lord being with us, gave us the victory and dominion in the end, and several were tendered and comforted. After it we went to H. Jonsen's, where several came to us; but the comfort and edification we might have had together was interrupted by two persons, who entered into discourse concerning water baptism, and shewed some warmth on the occasion.

The next day we went to Horn, and most of the friends with us, where we had a far more open and comfortable season together in the Mennists meeting-house. We were invited to dinner by a friendly person, named — Vlasblome, and kindly entertained. In the afternoon, we proceeded for Amsterdam, where we arrived about seven the same evening. Our friends were glad of our return, and received us kindly.

On the 28th we were at their week day meeting, which was small and cloudy, yet the truth in some more dominion than in the meetings before in this place. On the 29th their quarterly meeting was held, which was small and dull. The next day we went to Haarlem;

Haarlem; and that evening had a meeting there, which was both large and open; many things relating to truth being clearly opened, and the truth in good dominion, the people being generally satisfied, and friends comforted.

On the 2^d of 8th month, being first day of the week, we were again at the meeting at Amsterdam, which was larger than on any other day, both forenoon and afternoon. Several persons coming in, when they hear of strangers, there is frequently a fresh visitation to them, which makes things more lively and open. On the 3^d the friends from Twisk, taking their farewell of us, in much tenderness, departed homeward. And at the same time we went to Surdam, with a view of procuring a meeting among the Mennists there, but no convenient place presenting, and the chief of them being over at Amsterdam, we could not make it bear at that time. After staying several days longer at Amsterdam, and being at several meetings, to a degree of satisfaction, we took leave of friends in much love, and pretty easy in our minds; and went on the 11th to Haarlem, here we had a meeting the same evening, which was large and very open: several teachers of different sorts were present, and generally satisfied. We lodged at Peter Leendaars.

On the 12th (accompanied by our ancient friend Jacob Claus, an old servant of truth, and of the ministry, as an interpreter ~~about~~ thirty long and laborious journeys) we departed hence in the Trekschuyt, and arrived at Rotterdam that evening; Robert Cerard, meeting us in the way, took us with him to his house. The next day, in the evening, we appointed a meeting, where we had the company of some people of different persuasions. Truth was declared plainly and fully to them; during which they were still, and seemed touched with some sense of the power of God, which reigned in the meeting, and the Lord's name was honoured by it.

On the 16th, being first day of the week, we were at the meetings both forenoon and afternoon; and people of several notions were there: things opened largely, and with good authority concerning Christ, as God and Man, and the object of the faith of the Gentiles, as he is light and life, being so promised of the Father unto us. I was at their week day meeting on the 19th, which was altogether of friends; it was small, but the Lord was graciously pleased to visit us together, in his tender kindness and mercy, and opened things fully to the states of all; and it was a good meeting. On the 22d John Padley embarked for London, and no opportunity offering for Yarmouth, where I intended, I continued here some time longer, and was with friends from time to time at their meeting.

I enquired now more particularly into the state of the Mennists in those parts, and found, that all along, their ministers had preached freely, till of late some here and there had begun to receive hire, but were moderate therein; and, though they still kept up their old testimony against fighting and swearing; yet they are not so lively in their worship, nor so near the truth as they were in their first appearance. And I was informed, that their ministers are, for the most, but weak and dry in their ministry; so that sometimes their hearers had rather, some of them would be silent than preach, though gratis. And if thus it be, it hath fared with them as with many others, who having had a day of visitation from the Lord, and obtained a reputation through his goodness among them, and by that holy and innocent conversation they have had through his grace; yet some becoming more loose, and not keeping in the grace of God, and the virtue and power of it, have ended in mere formalists; and then, in a generation or two, little has appeared but the outside and form of godliness, which the power of grace brought forth in those who went before; and so, in a great

great measure, it is with them : yet, in the main, they are preserved from the gross evils of the world ; and I hope the Lord hath a visitation of life and power yet in store for them. Among other things, I obtained the form of words used by them, instead of an oath ; which is thus, *In the words of truth, instead of a solemn oath, I declare, &c.*

The wind at length coming fair, and I inclining to take the first likely opportunity, on the 13th of 9th month, being first day of the week, after two good meetings, I went to the Briel, accompanied by Robert Gerard, his wife, their sister Bethia, and their brother-in-law John Davison. After staying here a day or two, I embarked in a ship, and, through the good providence of God, arrived safe at Yarmouth on the 17th. For which, and all the preservations of the Lord, through so many dangers, I desire to remain thankful unto him only. Stayed at Yarmouth till the 20th ; I was at their meetings ; after which I went to Norwich, and spent some time there, to a good degree of satisfaction ; from thence proceeded to visit several meetings in Norfolk and Suffolk, till I came to Colchester, where I was at the meetings on a first day ; and in the afternoon had a long time, many, both friends and others, being present.

On the fourth day following, 4th of 11th month, I went to Kelvedon, to Dr. John Fish's, who gave me some things which proved helpful, as I was at this time much indisposed ; the next day I went to John Osgood's, near Coggeshall, where I staid two weeks, in which time I was at several meetings near by, and being much recovered, went on the 18th to Chelmsford, and from thence to London, where I stayed some time, and the Lord was pleased to make my service acceptable to his people there in a general way, and many good times we had together in his blessed presence, during my stay about the city ; I also visited some of the neighbouring meetings ; as Ryegate, Winchmorehill,

Winchmorehill, Plaistow, &c. But the yearly meeting at Bristol approaching, and having some drawings thither, on the 14th of 2d month, 1716, I set forward from London, and that night lodged at Ruscomb, with our friend William Penn, where my company was acceptable, and we were mutually comforted one in another. The half-year meeting being at Reading, on the 15th I was there, it was large and open; the next day I returned to Ruscomb, and on the 18th was at a meeting at Henly; on the 20th went to Newberry, where a meeting was appointed; next day I was at Marlborough; and on the 23d at Calne, where the testimony of truth run sharp against such as underhand colleague with priests, and support them by payment of tithes, &c. I heard afterwards some there were guilty; and the honest minded were comforted, in that the reproof was full and plain from the testimony of one, who was so great a stranger to any of their conditions in particular.

After this, I had meetings at Charlecot, Chippenham, and Crosham; and on the 28th went to Bristol, where I staid the time of their yearly meeting, and had some publick concern among them, to mutual comfort, especially in the parting meeting, which was very large and full, both of friends and strangers; the Lord was pleased to raise his truth and wisdom over all, to his own glory, and the general satisfaction of those present. For it is not man, but the Lord that works effectually, and the honour is due to God only, though the weak are apt to look to an instrument, which, in itself, is nothing.

On the 3d of the 3d month I was at Frenchay meeting, and on the 4th at Bath; this was a comfortable meeting; and Samuel Bownas, that able and experienced minister of the gospel, being there, I was also comforted in his ministry. On the 6th I was again at the meeting at Bristol; from thence went to Thornbury, and Nailsworth, Cirencester, Whitney, and Oxford,

ford, taking meetings in my way to London, where I came on the 17th, and stayed there during the time of the yearly meeting.

On the 8th of the 4th month I set forward from London, with a view of visiting friends in Ireland; that night I went to Marshgate, and next day to Ruscomb, to William Penn's; who I found in the same condition he had been in for some time, viz. full of love and sweetness, but not able to express himself as formerly before the apoplectick fit, which had so much impaired his memory. On the 10th, being first day of the week, I went to the meeting at Reading; was likewise at their meeting on the 12th, to good satisfaction. And, agreeable to what had been in my view before, I now used some endeavours to bring the remnant of those friends back, who formerly, by means of J. S. had separated themselves: I went to some of their houses, and was kindly received; found them not averse to return, but loth to make any acknowledgment of any fault in separating, unless the friends there would take blame also, which I could by no means yield to: for they had gone off under a jealousy that friends were apostates and innovators, and had long continued in that error and schism. And now being satisfied that they had been mistaken, and that friends were not such (as several of them owned) I thought they might well acknowledge their mistake, and so be reconciled. But I found one main obstruction was on account of their preacher; therefore I spoke to him the next day, and found him condescending: and though affairs could not then be brought to a conclusion, we parted in peace; and I was very easy and comforted in the Lord, after a full and hearty endeavour for their reconciliation; having nothing in view but the honour of truth, and their own good in it.

On the 14th I went to Upton, and next day had an appointed meeting at Bluebury; from thence to Charlow,

low, Panswick, Nailsworth, Tidbury, and Bath, attending their meetings; and on the 29th came to Bristol, where I was at several meetings, that were open and comfortable. I was here informed that the separate persons at Reading had laid down their meeting, and returned to friends, which gave me great satisfaction.

On the 20th of 5th month the vessel sailed from King's Road, in which I had taken my passage for Ireland; but being detained by contrary wind, we stopped at Minehead, and did not arrive at Cork till the 28th; here I was at several meetings, and at their week day meeting on the 31st, which was larger, I suppose, by reason of the notice going about, of my being the Dean of Limerick's brother; which, though it made my work the harder, their minds being outward, and their expectations high, and off from the true object; yet, my mind being only to the Lord, he was pleased to answer, and things were pretty well.

The 5th of 6th month, being first day, was their province meeting. In the morning I was at the meeting of ministering friends, which was small and heavy, the weight of the approaching meeting being upon us; but the Lord owned us with his good presence, in some degree. And in the meetings this day (which were large both forenoon and afternoon) the Lord was with us in his power and wisdom; and many things were opened to general satisfaction. The next day, in the morning, we also had a good time; and in the afternoon, being for the inspection of the affairs of truth, things were well and peaceably managed, and ended in comfort. On the 7th was a meeting more select for the young people, in which I had a very open and full time to them in the love of truth, and many of them were much reached: the Lord gave us a good meeting, and season of his love, and celestial showers together, to his own praise, and our mutual consolation, help, and edification.

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It being the time of the assizes, many of the higher rank were in town; and one day came to my friend John Pikes, the young Countess of Kildare and her sister, with three others of lesser quality: we had some free and open conversation, in which this lady, and the rest, commended the plain dress of our women, as the most decent and comely, wishing it was in fashion among them. Upon this, I told her, "That she, and the rest of her quality, standing in places of eminence, were the fittest to begin it, especially since they saw a beauty in it; and they would be sooner followed than those of lower degree." To this she replied, "If we should dress ourselves plain, people would gaze at us, call us Quakers, and make us the subject of their discourse; and we cannot bear to be made so particular." I answered, "The cause is so good, being that of truth and virtue, if you will espouse it heartily upon its just foundation, a few of you would put out of countenance, with a steady and fixed gravity, abundance of the other side, who have no bottom, but the vain customs of the times; and you will find a satisfaction in it, an overbalance to all you can lose, since the works of virtue and modesty carry in them an immediate and perpetual reward to the worker."

This seemed not unpleasant, being said in an open freedom.

On the 9th I went to Kinsale, and had a meeting to good satisfaction; from hence I returned to Cork, and was at several meetings there. On the 16th I was at Charleville meeting, and on the 19th at Lime-rick; being first day of the week, the meetings were crowded, and things opened well: but the greatest part having no want of truth, but drawn by curiosity, I had not so much satisfaction in them as in some other places, where the people's coming had a better inducement. They had conceived a notion, as I heard, that I was for the high church, and the Pretender; the
reverse

reverse to my sentiments on these affairs; but so far as my thoughts have been employed on them, (and that as little as most men) I have ever left those things to Providence, being content with what the Lord orders therein, without murmuring or meddling; and this has been productive of great peace to me, ever since the beginning of the revolution.

After this I was at several more meetings at Limerick to a good degree of satisfaction: things opened well on several points, especially concerning freedom from sin in this life, and the necessity of it: in which "I urged the catechism of the church of England, and the great vows and promises therein mentioned; that the composers of it, either believed the possibility of this attainment, or they did not; if they did, then they taught a perfection higher than ever we had done, viz. That men may live from their infancy to the day of their death, even if they live to a great age, and never sin. For he that renounces the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh; keeps God's holy will, or law, and commandments, and walks in the same all the days of his life; and, finally, believes all the articles of the Christian faith, never sins, or errs, in faith or practice. But if they did not believe the attainment, and yet enjoined and promised the thing, then they committed great sin in so doing. *For what is not of faith is sin.* But, alas! though despising the covenant of grace, they have thus invented to themselves a covenant of works they have not kept, being, by their own confession, miserable sinners, leaving undone those things they ought to have done, and doing those things they ought not.

"I directed them therefore to God's covenant of light, and that grace came by *Jesus Christ*, (which, though they mention it in their catechism, regard it not in practice, but commonly dispute, that no man can be free from sin in this life) as the only means so
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attain that freedom, and perform those vows; which would be exacted in a day that was hastening over nations, when all must give an account before the great Judge of all the world, and every one be rewarded according to his works."

All which they seemed to bear with patience; but, in rejecting purgatory as a Satanic invention, to elude the end of the coming of Christ, (which was to destroy the works of the devil, to finish sin, put an end to transgression, and bring in everlasting righteousness) and render poor weak mortals secure in their sins, in vain hopes of purification after death.

Some of the Papists went out of the meeting, being bent against what is good and true; and mean nothing but the slavery of sin, Satan, and priestcraft to the end of the world; which God will disappoint, and destroy by the brightness of his coming, and glory, now advancing, as the rising sun, through the thickest darkness! and none shall be able to hinder it.

On the 28th I was there again; and the meeting being more select, it was very open to friends, and the Lord gave us a baptizing season of his love together; and things ended here to general satisfaction. Having had a kind invitation by my brother and sister to their house at Bilboa, I went thither, accompanied by Joseph Phelps, George Pease, and my cousin Charles Story, one of the prebends of Limerick: this was an uncommon mixture, but no occasion of offence given, or taken on any hand: and my sister being a person of a good natural temper, and very discreet; and my brother also well pleased with our company. He shewed us his deer, park, and some of his fields. The two friends went back to Limerick, but I staid till the first of 7th month, when my brother went with me, about five miles, to the house of ——— Waller, where the same friends met me, and that evening we went within five miles of Birr, and had a large meeting next day, but not very open. From
Y- hence

hence I proceeded to Birr, Greenough, Old Castle, and other places, having meetings to good satisfaction. On the 22d I was at the six weeks meeting at Grange, where some strangers came; and, among others, one Moses Cleck, who had received his education at Glasgow, and been a preacher in good repute among the Presbyterians: but having fallen in with one of our meetings providentially, some years before, was reached by truth, under the ministry of Hugh Hamilton, and afterwards by John Salkeld, though he still continued in his old way till the week before this, when he had declined his ministry, and left them; though they had taken great pains to reclaim him, and offered him his choice of several parishes, or places, but in vain: for he owned himself convinced of truth, as professed by us in many things; though not in all at that time. We had a good meeting; but taking exceptions at some things I delivered, after the meeting, he discoursed with me upon them; and I explained them fully, so that all ended well.

On the 30th I came to Lurgan, where I staid a few days, being a little wearied with my journey and service, and willing to take some rest, especially where I found the most service. On the 7th of 8th month I was at the meeting at Grange, by Charlemont, which was large, and an open, good meeting; I had a long time in it, and many things were fully and clearly opened; after which I was as easy, and much comforted as at any hitherto in Ireland. On the 13th I was at the province meeting at Lurgan; it was large and open. I had some time, after the meeting, for business; which was satisfactory to all, being concerning my own experience in the time of my conviction, and the satisfaction I had, in secret, in these meetings for business, before I found myself at all qualified to act in them; which was not till my peace began to lessen, by reason of my aversion and neglect: for if I could have had peace, and the enjoyment of the

the good presence of the Lord, without either preaching, or answering the concerns incumbent on me from him in matters of discipline and affairs of the church, I had much rather never have meddled in it; observing the tempers of some men professing truth, and, ~~what~~ spirits they are of, for the most part, who are to be dealt with in it. And that though the discipline now in use in the church was of God, through the openings of his wisdom, and dictates of his Spirit; yet it may be said now of discipline, as Paul, personating that state, said of the law, The law is spiritual, holy, righteous, just, and good, but *I am carnal, sold under sin*. The discipline is settled to great and glorious ends: but as Satan regards not what be the law, if he can be judge to pervert it, so, even in this age, the mystery of iniquity has so wrought, as that ungodly men, in some places have advanced themselves into the seat of judgment, whose spirits and ways are for judgment and condemnation; who, by that means, being unseen of some, and awing others, turn the edge of judgment backwards, and prevent all right; put truth for error, and error for truth; which being the highest abomination and indignity to the Lord, he will shortly arise every where, to the discovery and overthrow of all such, with their evil work, throughout the world.

The province meeting at Lurgan being over, on the 15th I proceeded on my journey, and had meetings at divers places, as Ballinahinch, Ralshfriland, Newry, Dundalk, Drogheda, and from thence to Dublin, where I remained till the 29th, then went to Timaho, Edenderry, Ballytore, Castledermont, and had meetings. On the 7th of 9th month I returned to Dublin, and was at the half year's national meeting. All the affairs of it were carried on with great ease and unity, and in much sweetness. Finding an openness at Dublin, and many people, of divers sorts, frequenting our meetings, especially in the afternoon, I staid there

there till the 20th of 10th month, and had services of several kinds.

On the 22d, being the seventh day of the week, we went to the province meeting at Carlow; which held that day and the day following, and was a good open meeting. On the 25th I had a meeting at Kilionore, which being the day commonly called Christmas; there were a pretty many strangers present, and the Lord was with us, to our comfort. In this meeting, it was upon me to set forth "the word of God made flesh, (or appearing in flesh) born of the Virgin Mary, sent to the Jews in that manifestation, according to the foreknowledge, purpose, and promise of God; but they (save a remnant of them) rejected and crucified him; and yet at the same time were magnifying Moses, and garnishing the tombs and sepulchres of the prophets, and boasting themselves of them, but refusing the Son of God himself, Lord of all the prophets. And that even so now are the nominal Christians of several nations; that whilst they keep feasting and revellings, under pretence of honour to Christ, in commemoration of his birth, behave themselves so as rather to represent a triumph of sin and Satan; rejecting his divine light and grace in themselves; crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh by wicked works; in which they abounded, especially at that time."

It was a good meeting, and ended to satisfaction. On the 27th we had a meeting at Ballycaine, on the following days at Escontinna, Ballancarring; and on the 30th was at the monthly meeting at Lamb's Town, which was large, consisting of several neighbouring meetings; in the beginning of it heaviness attended, the ears of the people being outward for words; but the Lord condescending to us, was pleased to appear after some time, and the way of truth was opened clearly and fully, and many were reached, truth being over all.

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On the third day following I went to a meeting at Wexford, which was large and open, and therein I had to declare to the people the abominations of Ireland, in her different parties, covering her fields with the blood one of another : the inconsistency of it, with the nature of that love through which Christ died for all, whilst yet enemies ; the ingratitude of Ireland to the Lord for her many deliverances ; and the threatenings of the Lord of further punishments yet to come, in case of continuance in wickedness, by the sword, pestilence, fire, and famine : in the delivery whereof all were bowed, and the meeting concluded in a weighty frame.

On the 2d of 11th month I returned to William Sandwith's, and had a meeting there ; and on the 4th at New Ross, at which were many of the inhabitants. The Lord seasoned my heart with his grace, and renewed his Holy Spirit in me, for I had been somewhat low in my mind that day.

On the 6th I was at their meeting at Waterford, which was open and comfortable, many being bowed under the blessed truth, and some sweetly broken and melted ; and a comfortable time the Lord gave us, to his praise. In the afternoon we had a large meeting, many strangers being present, and things opened fully, and with good authority. I had something to say about transubstantiation, and the unprofitableness of such eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ, if really true, which I could not grant, but oppose. I attended several more meetings at this place, to satisfaction. In one of them I was concerned to open to the people that called the apostle's creed, as to the article, "*He descended into hell.*" I took exceptions to it thus : " His being dead and buried, sets forth he was in the state of the dead ; and his descending into hell, as they suppose, cannot mean he tasted of the state of the damned ; which does not agree with what he said to the thief upon the cross, viz. *To day shalt thou be*

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with

*with me in paradise.** The word *thou*, respecting the thief, being intended of his soul only; (for his body was broken and buried, or disposed of after the manner of criminals, and not in paradise) and, the word *me*, respecting *Christ*, must intend his holy and innocent soul, in an inseparable union with the divine word, (for so it was from the beginning) to be in paradise, at the same time when the body lay dead in the sepulchre; and since the body was in the grave, and the soul in paradise, what was there of *Christ* to be in hell?" Which I recommend to their further consideration.

Another point also fell in my way, viz. Predestination, wherein it is said, "That God, from all eternity, hath decreed some men and angels unto life and salvation, and others unto damnation or destruction; and the number is so certain and definite, that not one can be added or diminished." Upon which I thus remarked, among other things, "That it is a contradiction in the terms in which it is laid down: for the act of the divine will, moving to a decree, must have a beginning, in order to effect that decree; and therefore cannot be from all eternity, or without beginning, which is all one. And if God had at all made such a decree, whether before or since the world began, he had not then left any room for that saying, *As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live.*† But so the Lord hath said long since the world began, and since the time of the supposed decree; and therefore he had not made any such before at all. Again, when God, by his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, offered salvation to the people of the Jews, especially at Jerusalem, and they (most of them) refusing it, at last he wept over them, saying, *O Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee,*

* Luke xxiii. 43.

† Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

*how often would I have gathered thy children together as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but ye would not.** Now, if God had decreed these to destruction, why did he offer them salvation, and charge it upon themselves as an act of their own will to refuse it? It cannot consist, with any notion of justice, that God hath given to rational beings, that he should decree any to damnation, offering terms of salvation to the same persons, whom he rejects for non-compliance, when he that is Almighty, hath determined they should never comply."

After this I had meetings at Carrick, Clonmell, and Youghall, to satisfaction. On the 19th went to Cork, and was at their province meeting, which was pretty large, and well; it held two days. On the 22d and 25th I was at their week day meetings, consisting mostly of friends; where I had opportunities to speak to some things more peculiar to their states, than in the mixed meetings. I proceeded to Kinsale, Malo, and Charleville, and had meetings; and on the 9th of 12th month went to Limerick, accompanied by several friends. Having had letters of invitation from my brother George Story, then Dean of Limerick, and also from his wife, to take up my lodging at their house, I accepted of it, and was with them during the time I staid in town. They were kind; but in a short time I found my spirit under a great load, which rendered my stay there uncomfortable; though things to outward view were agreeable. I at length perceived, from some conversation that passed, they were under a deep prejudice against the truth, being poisoned by the invidious and wicked writings of Lesly; I procured the answer to him, wrote by Joseph Wyeth, and left it with them, in order that they might be better informed concerning us. During my stay at Limerick, finding things thus with my relations, I was, as

* Matt. xxiii. 37.

much as I well could, in the conversation of friends, as more easy and comfortable, my nearest relation being to those who dwell in the truth, though not otherwise related. I was at the meetings on first day, which were large, especially in the afternoon, many coming out of curiosity, hearing I was the Dean's brother; this was a cross to me, by their gazing and observation; however, things were pretty full and open; I staid the week day likewise, the next first day meetings, being preserved, so that they had no occasion against me. On the 18th I departed from thence, and went to Tipperary, Clonmell, Woodhouse, Cachel, Thirles, and Kilkenny, and had meetings. At this last place the meeting was disturbed, and I was taken out of it by officers, and committed to prison; but I had not been long in the custody of the jailor, before Anthony Blunt, the sheriff of the city, came to me, and shewed his displeasure at their doings; he called for a copy of the mittimus, which he left in my hand, till he went to some of the justices to have their opinions and concurrence in taking me to his house; which, obtaining readily, he took me with him, and provided agreeable accommodations, to the disappointment of divers. This I observed to be the Lord's doings, for the furtherance of the gospel, and his own glory; the Lord was with me, to my comfort, as my only sure help.

On the 6th and 7th days friends came from several parts to see me, and many staid in town till the first day, being 3d of first month, when we had a meeting in the sheriff's house, where his wife and family, and many of the neighbourhood, were present. After the mayor, and one of the aldermen, had used farther endeavours to trouble me, I was set at liberty in a few days, and on the 11th left the place, several friends being in company; and on comparing things, we found, we had all had a share of the burthen; but were very easy and comfortable in our spirits. On the

the 12th we had a meeting at Samuel Watson's, which was large and open. And on the 13th at Carlow; from hence I went to Kilkenny, to see what they had to say to me at the assizes, to which I had been committed by the mittimus aforesaid; not thinking it honourable in the truth to take liberty by word only, lest, being absent, they might pretend I had given them the slip.

On our way we fell in upon the road with some persons going to town; and one of them offering some discourse about religion, I perceived he was a Roman Catholick; after some other points, we came upon that of transubstantiation. He urged the words of Christ; where he said, concerning the bread, "*Take, eat ye all of it; this is my body which is broken for you.*" And again, concerning the cup, "*This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you,*" &c. I endeavoured to shew him that "this was a figurative speech: *this bread* signifies my body, which shall shortly hereafter be broken for you: and, *this cup*; that is to say, the wine, or liquor contained in it, signifies, or symbolizes, the New Testament in my blood: for if it were a proper speech, without any figure, many absurdities would follow, against both sense and reason; whereas Christ and his apostles suit their doctrine and miracles to both."

He said, Christ told the people, that "*Except ye eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you.*" There must then be some way of eating and drinking, to make good that saying; which is also very plain in its own nature, the flesh and blood in a proper sense."

To this I answered, "That Christ did say so, and the people took him to mean properly and without a figure, as ye now do; looking upon the impossibility of the thing in the sense they and you take it; but when they were all offended and gone, he turned to his disciples, and explained it to them, for they seemed

ed not rightly to understand him; *Will ye also leave me? It is given to you to understand the mysteries; but to them (the world) in parables.* What then was the parable, or mystery? *It is the spirit that quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing.*"

I further added, "That if therefore the bread were really transubstantiated; after the words said, and were the true body and blood of Christ; and if they really ate and drank the same flesh and blood, which then they beheld, it would profit them nothing."

He acknowledged, "The flesh and blood by itself, without the spirit, does not profit; but when we eat the flesh and blood together, we eat the spirit also, and that quickens as we eat it." I said, "This cannot be Christ's meaning; for he does not only distinguish, but divide between the flesh and spirit: *It is the spirit that quickens, but the flesh profiteth nothing. Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.*

"The words which proceed out of the mouth of God are spirit and life; as said the Lord Christ, who is that word, * *My words, they are spirit, and they are life*; which words the apostles knew, by experience, to make them alive and preserve them; as appears by the answer of Peter at the same time, † *Whither shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life.* So that this quickening is not by the gross and carnal eating and drinking here imagined, but by receiving of the spirit through the words of Christ, abstracted and apart from that holy body, and all other corporiety or body. And, for the further understanding of sayings of this nature, observe, that when the disciples of Christ were shewing him the temple at Jerusalem, and the beauty of it, he said to them, ‡ *Destroy this temple, and I will raise it up in three days.* The temp'le at Jerusalem was the object of their eyes, and subject of their discourse,

* John vi. 63.

† John vi. 68.

‡ John ii. 19.

which

which gave them just occasion, as men, to suppose he meant that temple; which they said was forty years in building, and could he raise it in three days? They wondered at his saying; but yet, in the sequel of things, they understood afterwards, that he spoke of the temple of his body. Again, in like manner, where he saith, * *I am the vine, ye are the branches.* This may well explain that other saying, † *I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, till I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.* Which can mean no other, than as his coming in the flesh consecrated the way, and was previous to the coming of the spirit; so his drinking new wine in the kingdom of God, must intend the community of the spirit, expressed in the words of the apostle, concerning the whole church, ‡ *We have all been made to drink into that one spirit.*"

My opponent, being weary of the subject, turned to something else, and said, "No doubt you have a good intent in what you do, in travelling so in the world; but you must have some good considerations for it, as our priests have gold and silver; and mentioned about 300 guineas for that time."

I told him, "No, we whom God had raised up, and qualified in some degree, in this age, to that service, were advanced above any such mean, base, and mercenary considerations, as to take any thing from men for this labour; which we bestow freely in the love of God, and by his commandment for the common good of men." "Why," said he, "the apostles were but poor men, and wanted necessities, and must have received of the people, or wanted." "True," said I, "but then they say, § *Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.* And where that is really the case, such as are in want of assistance, we do not begrudge them that; but it is very seldom so among

* John xv. 5. † Matt. xxvi. 29. ‡ 1 Cor. xii. 13. § 1 Tim. vi. 8.

us; but rather with Paul we can generally say, * *These hands of mine have ministered to my necessities.*

He replied, "But in case your friends, after some good sermon, that pleaseth a great congregation well and generally, should offer you a purse of money, would you not accept it, being freely given?" I said, "No; I hope it would be no temptation, if so it happened; but it cannot be, as long as they and I abide in the truth we profess, either that we should give or receive in that way: I should be greatly troubled to see such a degeneracy, as to subject them to so great an evil."

"You say well," he answered, "and I am apt to believe you; but if you would not, there are many would be glad of the offer, and receive it with both their hands."

"I believe it," said I; "for there are too many mercenary hirelings in this age, who, though they pretend a mission to go teach and baptize all nations, yet sit down where they can have the first maintenance."

"There is too much of it," said he; "and so we parted in friendship. Coming to Kilkenny, it was soon known, and many were looking what would be the issue of things; my adversaries continued their endeavours to hurt me, but were disappointed; though a fresh warrant was granted by the mayor to apprehend me, at the instigation of the bishop, on account of our having another meeting in the place, at which I had preached. The matter coming before the judges, they expressed their thoughts to several friends, that it was against the mind of the government that our meetings should be disturbed. And soon after the serjeant that arrested me, came with a message from the mayor, that he had taken up the warrant and mit-

* Acts x. 34.

timus; and I was at liberty to go where I pleased, if I would accept of it. I told him, "the mayor ought to send me a liberate under his hand and seal; and not think I was wholly at his disposal to put in and take out of prison, as he pleased." It was not long before the mayor came himself to my lodging, to tell me I was at liberty; for he had taken up the mittimus and destroyed it. I then told him, "Since that violence, by which my just liberty had been obstructed, was removed, if I could find it consisting with what I professed, I should consider of ways and means how to do myself justice against such illegal proceedings; but as it was a wrong done me for the sake of my religion, I might probably bear it with patience." He made very little reply, but civilly departed.

In the afternoon I went to Ballinakill, and the next day, being the 19th, had a meeting there. On the 21st and 29d was at meetings at Monrath and Mountmelick; at one of them some of the neighbours coming in (which I generally observe freshens meetings) many things were opened in the authority of truth, to edification, confirmation, and comfort. On the 27th I arrived safe at Dublin, where I was kindly received, and was at the meeting on the 29th, which was fresh and open, and we were comforted together in the truth; which, as the heavens transcend the earth, exceedeth all other enjoyments.

Hearing of a vessel going for Chester, and intending for the yearly meeting at that place, I took timely care to secure my passage in it; but the wind not answering, I staid till the first day following, being the 31st. The meetings were very large, and things were open and well, and the blessed truth prevailed, through him who is worthy above all for ever!

The wind continuing contrary, I still staid at Dublin, and was at their third day meeting; where I had some time, things opening to many states very close; and I came away easy. Some came to see me before

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I went off; and among others, Captain Smith. He had been in military offices, but being under conviction, was at that time attended with great inward struggles; and having a commission for being a captain of dragoons then offered him, he would gladly have seen it lawful for him, and consisting with truth, to accept the commission, and sell it, not intending to act upon it; but upon some private discourse with him, he was more straitened about it, and was very tender and humble: we parted in love and friendship, he owning his satisfaction in that conference.

Having finished my visit in Ireland, on the 4th of 2d month I set off from Dublin Bay about the second hour in the afternoon; and the next day about the same time arrived at Park-gate on Chester River, but went not on shore till the evening, the waves being high on the beach.

On the 7th, being first day of the week, we had meetings at Chester, which in a good measure made way for further service. The day following we held our meeting of ministering friends, which was pretty large, there being some of both sexes from Ireland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, Wales, &c.

The next day the publick yearly meeting for the North was begun in the forenoon, and was large and open; the Lord appeared with us to the glory of his own name, and comfort of his people, as likewise to the general satisfaction, for there were present of most sorts and sects in the nation. The next morning some select friends had a meeting of conference about the affairs of truth, enquiring of one another how it prospered in their several quarters; when some comfortable and encouraging accounts were given: that afternoon there was another publick meeting, where was supposed to be near four thousand people; and things were well, and truth prevailed to general satisfaction, and the praise of our great Lord; whose
honour,

honour, and the good of his people, and of mankind in general, is what we aim at in all these things. That evening the meeting ended, we having increased from time to time both in number and openness; the people being more and more ready to hear, and several were convinced, so as to come to meetings, and own truth openly.

Intending hence through Wales to the yearly meeting at Bristol, I went to Rixham, Delobran, Montgomery, and Laneedless, taking meetings; and was at the yearly meeting at Radnor, which was held part of the time in a barn belonging to the priest of the parish, which he had granted to friends for that service: an instance of condescension in a man of his function; but being moderate when they made the request, he said, "Since we preached Christ, and endeavoured to reform the people, and aimed at the honour of God, he could not refuse it, though he expected censure for it from his own people." Some of the meetings were held in the town-hall by leave of the magistrates, the barn being too little and incommodious; there came several people of note, and a great concourse from divers places; a good time the Lord gave us, for his blessed power was over all, and honoured.

After the meetings, a certain widow lady, who had been at them, and well satisfied in the main, desired some conference with me, with which she seemed to be pleased, and said, she believed we had been much misrepresented in many things. On the 28th I was at their meeting at Haverford-west; which was heavy. The matters which concerned my mind in silence, were the leaven of the kingdom, and of the Pharisees, their difference in nature, operation, and end; and the different states of souls at last, finally centering in the one or the other. I had comfort in the Lord, but not much in the meeting; for some things were sharp and plain to the states of several. I had another meeting or two here, but found things at a very low ebb among them

them as to the life of truth, though some alive. On the 2d of 3d month I had a meeting at James Town, on the 5th was at Swansey, and on the 7th came to Bridgend, where I had a meeting in the evening, at the house of Fluelling Jenkins, a friend, who lately settling there among a professing people, had sometimes meetings, and many came in. Things opened much concerning the light of the Gentiles, and against that pernicious doctrine of predestination; by which their foundation was shaken, and some convinced, who I hope will stand. This made amends for some hard times in Wales before: it was a good meeting, to the praise and glory of God, and comfort of several. On the 10th I was accompanied by my old friend John Bevan to Pontypool, about 16 miles (though he was above 80 years of age); we had a meeting there that evening among a few friends, which was open and comfortable. He spoke in Welch; and though I understood not the language, yet was much comforted in the truth all the time; by which I perceived his ministry was from that ground: his speech flowed very free, carrying a proportion and satisfaction to the ear, not easily expressed. For though the languages of men differ greatly, yet the language of truth, as to the comfort of it, is one in all nations.

From hence I went to Pontymoyle, Thornbury, and Frenchay, and had meetings: and on the 15th I came to Bristol, where I staid the yearly meeting, which was comfortable, the Lord's blessed power being over all, to the praise of his great name, and the comfort of many souls! On the 24th I was at their week day meeting, which was also comfortable, and I came away in great peace and love with all friends. On the 26th I was at the meetings at Bath, which were in a good degree to satisfaction: from hence I went to Cirencester, and was at the quarterly meeting there; in the meeting for business a letter was introduced, directed to the meeting, from a person who intended to stand candidate

candidate to serve as a member of parliament for Gloucestershire, or to solicit for some friend of his: this I observed as unusual, and not of good consequence; though some of the younger sort were pleased with it, the wiser sort were not so; finding a concern on my mind to caution the meeting, I told them, "That as our meetings are altogether respecting religion and the worship of God, and such things as relate thereunto, and not matters of policy or state, it might be of ill and dangerous consequence many ways, to introduce such things there, or in any of our meetings;" several joined with this, and the rest were silent, all ending in peace.

On the 29th we had a meeting at Farrington, and next day at Bishop's Town, where some of the people came in; but to me the meeting was very dull a long time.

I had to say, "That there had not been more mischief done among the children of men by any one thing, in most ages of the world, than by men's running in the name of God, as his messengers, when he did not send them; who not only did not profit the people at all," (as declared in the 23d chapter of Jeremiah) "but did much hurt by misguiding them: and though it might look strange to some, that a meeting being appointed, and the people invited, I should say nothing; yet as no consideration arising that way ought to prevail with me to run in my own will, to speak of the things of God among them; so it might be better both for them and me, I were silent, than do it: for though the apostle was come to so clear a distinction in himself, as to be able to say, * *This say I, and not the Lord*: and again, *Thus saith the Lord, and not I*. This I, without the Lord, having in many others done so much hurt, I would rather at that time hazard their censure, and what might follow from thence, than be

too busy with the things of God, where he did not concern me: for though the day before, and many other times, I had been rightly concerned from the Lord; yet it did not follow that I might employ myself that day, when the Lord did not fit me, and require it at my hand, lest, instead of comfort, I should procure reproof from him; and, in seeking my own honour, dishonour the Lord, and so become a transgressor."

Then recommending them to the teachings of the grace of God, I sat down; and after a little time said, "I would not have any think, I have smote at any of my brethren here who have been concerned in the meeting; I have only spoken what was singly with me, relating to my present state." After this, being broken in spirit by the income of the love of truth, which reached several present; in some time I was concerned in prayer, and the meeting ended well.

The next day we came to Newbury, and had a meeting there, which was pretty large and open; and the day after, being 1st of 4th month, went to Reading, where those who had separated themselves from friends, I found returned, and become one meeting since I was here last year. I had an open time among them, and was much comforted. They received me kindly; old things being laid aside, and not once named among them, as I had before advised, in the mind and wisdom of truth; through which I had been opened to that end.

On the 3d I went to Ruscomb, to see our ancient and honourable friend William Penn, still remaining under the effects of a fit of apoplexy, much hurt as to his memory, and expressive faculty, but still living in the better part. From thence I went to London to the yearly meeting, which was large, and things in the main were comfortable, though as to my own particular, rather being willing to be straitened than to straiten any, I suffered much in my mind and spirit,
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for want of opportunity to clear myself. At the meeting for business I gave a relation of my travels since the last yearly meeting.

On the 2d of 5th month I left the city, having some other places before me, and that night went to Hartford, where I was at the yearly meeting, from thence I went to Hitchin, Baldock, and Royston, having meetings; and to Cambridge, where, a meeting was held; to which many of the scholars came, who were generally wild and wanton; I had to speak of some qualifications, both in preacher and hearer, necessary in preaching the gospel; the teacher, as the oracle of God, being qualified by him with understanding and power, not acquired by the creature, but given by the Creator; and the hearer ought to be still, sedate, and unprejudiced, free from enmity and passion, that taking things into his understanding, he might judge aright of what he heard. Something was said of the nature, end, and advantage of true silence, as commanded of God by the prophet of old, and consisting also with a state of glory in heaven; with the difference between outward and inward silence; the former from words and noises, and the latter from all evil thoughts, imaginations, and desires; where sin has its beginning in the creature, so as to be chargeable with it in the sight of God. Other matters of importance were declared among them, and some were solid, and affected with truth; in the main I was well satisfied with the meeting, and so also were friends. After this I had meetings at Hadnam, Chatteris, Ramsay, Huntington, and Ives; then went into Northamptonshire, where I had many meetings, to good satisfaction; from hence I proceeded through Liecestershire, Nottinghamshire, &c. and came on the 31st to Newcastle, intending for Scotland. I staid the meetings here on first day, which were pretty large, and we were refreshed together, in the Lord's goodness.

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On the 6th of 7th month I went to Kelso, and on the 8th was at the meeting there; the next day I proceeded to Edinburgh, where I had a meeting with about half a dozen friends still remaining, and some sober persons that came in. "Though this city hath been often visited and warned from the Lord, by his servants, yet there appears not an inclination in them towards the way of truth, as professed by us, but the contrary, so far as I can see, or learn from those friends conversant among them; though some sober people there are, who, in due time, may come forward."

On the 11th I crossed the Firth of Forth, and went to Kenway, from thence to Montross and Urie, to my friend Robert Barclay's; and was at the meeting at Aberdeen, on the first day, where there was a large congregation of people. Having travelled far, in the good will and love of God, to see them, a little after my coming into the place, I was much broken in that love which reaches over sea and land, and engages in the greatest fatigues and labours for the good of souls; for whom Christ died, through a never-fading love, not of man, but of God also! I had a good season in the meeting, and several were reached, the truth prevailing over all. After this I went to Kingswells, Kilmuck, and Inverury, and had meetings; on the 24th went back to Urie, with Robert Barclay, who had given me his acceptable company all this time. I staid here some days, (being under the exercise of a great cold) and finding an inclination to see the friends and people again at Aberdeen, I returned with Alexander Jaffray to Kingswells, and from thence to Aberdeen, where I was at several meetings till the 6th of 8th month, when I was again at the meeting, which was large and open: many things were declared of great moment "concerning the law of the spirit, and its strivings with the old world, and also with Israel,

as likewise with the Gentiles, and now with the nominal Christians ; and all were guilty who neglected and opposed this spirit ; but such justified as believe and obey, to whom the same becomes a *law of life, and makes free from the law of sin and death.* This is that book and law written in their hearts, sealed with seven seals, which none in heaven, or in earth, or under the earth ; neither angel, nor spirit of man, nor emperor, king, prince, or potentate, pope, prelate, priest, or presbyter, can open or explain ; but the Lion of the tribe of *Judah*, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the New Covenant, the writer and giver of this law ; whose law is light, and his commandment as a lamp that burneth."

On the 7th I went again to Kingswells, and the next day to Urie, where I staid till the 12th, then went to Tayock, and on the 13th was at the meetings at Montross, Robert Barclay and his son accompanying me some days on my return into England, till the 18th, when we parted with considerable reluctance : but as men are variously stated in this world by Providence, which separateth the nearest friends, our different concerns obliging to it, we were made easier to part, by the same who first made us acquainted in the time of our youth. I proceeded to Glasgow, and on the 20th, being first day of the week, was at their meeting both forenoon and afternoon, and had a meeting in the evening at a friend's house, which was as large as any of the other, and the people generally satisfied. On the 23d I had a meeting at Garthshore ; and on the 24th went to Hamilton, where there is now remaining but a very small number of friends, poor and honest, and but one or two of the old stock ; the meeting was open and comfortable, the Lord owning us together. On the 26th I went to Cumberhead, (a lonely place among the mountains) and was at the meeting. On the 28th I went forward for Cumberland, accompanied by my cousin Andrew Latimer. He took me to the house
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of one J. Williamson, his kinsman, by marriage; with whom falling into discourse, he, with all his might, maintained sin term of life in opposition to the plainest scripture, and the end of the coming of Christ; perversely alledging that the apostle Paul, at the time of writing his epistle to the Romans, was in that miserable state of sin he speaks of in the 7th chapter: and, after much pains which I took to inform him, "That the apostle had, in the beginning of that epistle, set forth the general state both of Jew and Gentile; that all had sinned; that Christ is the Saviour of all, that he saves all, who believe and obey, from sin, not in it; that the apostle brings his doctrine of freedom from sin in this life, ~~to~~ a result or period in the latter end of the 6th chapter, and resumes the same doctrine in the beginning of the 7th, under another similitude, viz. of a woman bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth, but he being dead, she is free to take another; and then brings the same doctrine to a like conclusion in a few verses: and, prosecuting still this doctrine, in the fore part of the 8th chapter, establishes this great point in these words: *The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death*, &c. where it is evident, that as a man cannot be in these two opposite states at the same time, so the state of liberty from sin was not only the condition of the apostle himself, who preached the doctrine, but of many of the saints at that time in the church." I say, after all this, and much more to the same effect, this person still persisted in defence of sin, as being most suitable to a depraved state, and the prejudice of his education.

On the 29th we went to Wanlock Head, and in a few days after arrived at my father's house at Justice Town in Cumberland, where I found him alive and well, but blind, being about 87 years of age: I staid some days with him, and was at the Border meeting, which was pretty large and open, several of the ancient friends

friends being still alive. After this, I attended meetings in Cumberland, at some of which the Pearsons, and J. Robinson, were disturbing; but truth being near to help, we had satisfaction and comfort over the heads of these opposers.

On the 13th of the 10th month I was at Great Broughton at their week day meeting; but not having been at this meeting on a first day for many years, considering it was the place where I first knew friends to be the people of God, I was willing to have a little more time among them; I therefore staid till the 15th, and was at the meeting in the forenoon, which was open and well; but not many strangers being present, and desiring to see as many of the people as I could, an evening meeting was appointed, which was large, and things opened clear to general satisfaction. The next day I went to Whitehaven, and, alighting at an inn, had an invitation by Justice Gilpin to lodge at his house, which I accepted of, and was kindly entertained; but not being able to procure a convenient place for a meeting in the town, we had one appointed at our friend John Nicholson's, about a mile distant; to which came many of the towns people. James Dickinson also met me there, and we had a good opportunity among them; the power and presence of the Lord was with us, and the people were greatly satisfied, and several tendered. I returned to my lodging in the evening, and went from thence to West-side (or Crossfield) meeting; but inclining to see my old friends at Whitehaven again, I came back, and visited divers, meeting with respect among them.

After this I was at many meetings in these parts, and at Newcastle, North Shields, and Sunderland, being favoured with good and open times. On the 9th of 12th month I was at the meeting at Whitby, which is large, there being a fine body of friends in that place; I had several good openings among them, and the testimony of truth had a free passage. They have
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two week day meetings, which I found open and comfortable. I staid there till the first day following, and was at the meetings, which were likewise open. From hence I proceeded to Staintondale, Scarborough, &c. taking meetings. On the 28th I was at Hull; the number of friends here is but small; but notice being given to some of the people, the meeting was pretty full, and things opened largely, both for the encouragement of the faithful, and rebuke of the backsliders; especially the unfaithful concerning tithes, as a main branch of the testimony of truth in our day, against antichrist and his ministers: for which, I heard afterwards, there was too much reason in these parts.

On the 2d of 1st month I went to Beverly, where we had a large meeting, and very open, many being reached by the power of truth. On the 4th I went to an appointed meeting at North Cave, where came people of several societies, as Papists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, &c. Things opened largely, and the Lord gave us a good and comfortable time. On the 6th I had a meeting at Cotness, not large, nor much in the flowing of life, but some things of great moment were moving; as, "Of the rise of antichrist in the apostles' days, his progress in the same sort of ministers, his heighth in the papacy, and approaching downfal in the same, and in all others the like, in all lands, and in all forms; the truth, and its testimony and followers, persecuted in this land from the beginning; the great reward and triumph of its faithful witnesses, and the mean and base spirits of those who were visited, and were unfaithful; and their reward of infamy and death." On the 9th, being first day of the week, I went to Rawcliff, where the meeting was large and open, there being friends from several other meetings, and some strangers. On the 11th and 12th I had meetings at Selby and Pontefract; the last was but small, there being but few friends, and some of them young, and not much acquainted with the work of

of truth, as it is too much in most other places; but being preserved pretty generally from the grosser evils of the world, and keeping orderly, there is good ground of hope the Lord will effectually reach them in his own time; as he hath already blessed many of them with the knowledge of his way and truth, to the comfort of their own souls, and all that are concerned with them.

On the 13th I was at a meeting at Wakefield, where we had some disturbance from a rude sort of people who came in; but truth being in dominion, they could not live under the cutting reproofs of it, but retired, and then we had a good season: upon enquiry, I found they were scholars belonging to a school in the town, with some their like, abettors; which gives me occasion to observe, "that we have but a sorrowful prospect of this rising generation, to see the youth so corrupted, especially at the colleges and schools in the three kingdoms (generally speaking) where young men have the rudiments of that learning and education, which should qualify them for the services of their own families and country. Hence arise the great mischiefs in church and state, in all the offices and officers, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; in pride, in covetousness, in emulation, strife and envy; in lust of dominion, pre-eminence and rule, to that degree, that the whole body of the people of England is thereby in great danger of utter ruin: which surely will come, if they continue to neglect so great salvation, as the Lord, in infinite mercy, yet continues to offer them; in sending forth his light and truth so freely and plentifully among them: in which he will be clear in that day, when their great sins will make their deep humiliation so necessary to them."

From hence I went to Leeds, York, and Gildersham; and on the 30th to Kendal to the yearly meeting there, which was large and satisfactory. After this I went to Lancaster, Penketh, Frenchay, Newt,

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Namptwich, and to the yearly meeting at Shrewsbury, which held several days to good satisfaction. On the last day of the meeting, in the forenoon, I had a large open time. One thing happened somewhat remarkable in it: for, as I was concerned to speak of the crucifixion of Christ, and mentioning the incision in his side by the spear, whence issued blood and water; which clearly evinced he was wounded to the heart: and that this being for the sins of men, without which that would not have been put upon him, I was so much affected with it, that I could not go on, but, being much broken, stood still, till my spirit was a little unburthened by an efflux of many tears, and the whole auditory was bowed, and generally broken and melted; so that many confessed the truth. After some time I went on further with the matter, which opened so full, as I believe nothing stood in the way before all was ended. As this was the Lord's work, and his hand plainly in it (for at first I was very weak to the sight of all, by reason of a cold and hoarseness, but my voice grew stronger than common, and clear) so to him only be the glory and thanks, now and for ever. Amen.

On the 24th I was at Wolverhampton meeting, and on the 27th at Birmingham; from thence went to Stourbridge, Broomsgrove, Worcester, Tewksbury, and Gloucester, taking the meetings. On the 10th of 3d month I reached Bristol, and was at the yearly meeting, which was large and open. There was a large appearance of ministering friends, and among many others I had some concern in the meeting, viz. "Touching the sins of the old world, and God's long-suffering towards them for so many hundred years, and their destruction for sin at last; the re-peopleing of the world, and their degeneracy also; the dispensation of God to the Jews, their apostasy, and many sins and provocations for many ages, and their destruction likewise: and, lastly, the visitation of God,
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his offers of salvation by Christ, and his light and grace to all nations; the rise of antichrist in the apostolical days, not among the Jews, nor Gentiles, but among the Christians; who they were; their progress, height, and insults over mankind, subjecting all other powers to themselves, perverting the good ends of civil power, and turning the edge of justice backward against the innocent, and indulging the ungodly; the approach of the final downfall and ruin of that power in all nations, wherever it has been in the world, under a profession of the Christian religion, longer than either in the old world, or the Jews; and which cannot escape punishment for the ocean of blood she hath shed, having the same righteous and Almighty Judge to answer before, and the word of his mouth already gone forth against her, in many prophecies of her final and perpetual desolation: and the tranquillity of the nations and people after that, to the end of time, under the reign of the Lord Jesus, by his Holy Spirit.

On the 18th I went to Parsbury, and had a meeting; on the 19th to Nailsworth to the quarterly meeting of Gloucestershire. Being a little weary I staid here a few days, and on the 25th was at the meeting at Reading; from whence I went the same evening with Hannah Penn, and some of her family, to Ruscomb, where I found her husband still weak, but very open to receive me; which he expressed several ways. I went after this to Reading again, and on the 30th had a small meeting at Staines. The day following I went to London to the yearly meeting; from thence to Colchester, and several other places, returning to London on the 23d of 4th month, where having visited meetings for some time, and wrote and answered many letters both to and from America, Scotland, Holland, and the North of England, I left the city again on the 24th of 5th month, in order for Bristol, where I came on the 29th, and a few days after received a letter to inform me of the decease of our ancient and honourable

able friend William Penn, who departed this life on the 30th, of a short sickness. I was much broken in spirit on reading the letter, considering how nearly we had been acquainted and united in the truth; and a concern taking hold of my mind to be present at the interment of his corpse, I set out the same afternoon from Bristol, accompanied by his son John Penn, and came to Ruscomb on the 1st of 6th month, where we found the widow and most of the family together. Our coming occasioned a fresh remembrance of the deceased, and also many tears from all eyes. We had a solid time, but few words among us; it was a deep baptizing season, and the Lord was near.

On the 5th I accompanied the corpse to the grave at Jordan's meeting-place, in the county of Bucks, where we had a large meeting of friends, and others, from many places: and, as the Lord had made choice of him in the days of his youth for great and good services, and had been with him in many dangers and difficulties of various kinds, so he did not leave him in his last moments. This occasion was likewise honoured with the Lord's blessed presence, and was a happy season of his goodness, to the satisfaction of those present. That night I returned to Ruscomb, where I staid till the 10th; and, being present at the opening of his last will, had occasion to advise the family touching their various interest therein, as I thought most conducing to equity, and their general peace and good, as became their relation to and honour of the deceased.

I went after this to Reading, Newbury, and Bath; at the last place I staid till the 2d of 7th month, and attended the meetings, which were sometimes large. I had likewise here several opportunities of conversing on religious subjects with the Countess of Ranelagh, who had lodgings at the friend's house where I was. Speaking upon infant baptism, she readily owned they were wrong in it, as practising a thing not instituted; and

and to confirm her therein, I produced two old canons; the first in the Milevetan Council in Africa, anno 402, in these words; "It is our will, that all who affirm young children have everlasting life, which are not baptized, to the taking away original sin, that they be anathematized."

The second, in the fifth Carthaginian Council, 416, runs thus:

"We will, that whosoever denieth that little children by baptism are not freed from perdition, and eternally saved, that they be accursed." And this was confirmed by pope Innocentius, and Augustine, with seventy bishops. These men from an apprehension that little children are guilty of original sin, so as to be damned for it, invented curses upon such who did not agree with them in this opinion: wherein their language is, "*It is our will, and ~~His~~ will,*" and not a word of the will of God; as, to be sure the Divine Wisdom was never the author of it.

As to sprinkling, instead of baptizing, I observed it was introduced by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, by the suffrage of the people, who, from the danger and inconveniency, as he thought, of baptizing the sick, reasoned for their being sprinkled with water, instead of being baptized; and for sprinkling prisoners, converted in prison, for want of conveniency of water to baptize them: and by degrees they brought it into use for sick children, then for all children: and here is the true ground of sprinkling and baptizing children, introduced in times of apostasy and blindness, and continued among the Papists till the time of the Protestant Reformation; when it appearing there was a great mixture of superstitious innovations, as salt, cream, spittle, the sign of the cross, godfathers, &c. Some of them were removed, but in that time they could not or would not see, that infants are no subjects of baptism, nor sprinkling the mode of it; or that the sign of the cross therein, with godfathers and vows, were not in

any institution of Christ, or practice of the apostles : with all which the lady seemed fully to acquiesce, owning freely, that sprinkling is not the mode, nor infants the subjects of baptism.

I went from Bath to Bristol, and was at several meetings there. On the 17th I went to the meeting at Clarcham, where I met with George Bowles, an able minister of the gospel of Christ, who had come down that way to visit friends, and the Lord was with us ; the doors were opened by the key of David, both of utterance and entrance, so that we had a good meeting. After this I was at other meetings in these parts, as Sidcot, Posset, &c. and went to Plymouth and Falmouth, from thence to Key, Austel, Leskard, and many other places ; and on the 3d of 10th month returned to Bristol, where I staid till the 4th of 12th month following, having many good opportunities among friends, and often among people of other societies, who usually came to our meetings on first days.

From hence I went to London, and staid there visiting meetings in the city, and parts adjacent, till the 16th of 7th month 1719 ; was also at the yearly meeting. A passage happened whilst I was in London, which I think proper to mention, as it fell out so much to my satisfaction. When the present Earl of Carlisle was a boy, he was at school in that city, where I was at the same time, which occasioned my being admitted into his acquaintance and favour ; and as I had then a strong affection for him, it did not wear out in all this tract of time ; so that I had an inclination to see him, and speak with him, which I had not done in many years : accordingly taking Dr. Gilbert Heathcote in my company, partly to introduce me, he being physician to some of the family, and known to the Earl ; I went one morning to his lodgings in Greek-street. He received us respectfully, though I was then become an untter stranger to him. After some occasional expressions between him and the Doctor, I being silent, and my mind inwardly exercised
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at the same time, waiting a fit opportunity for matters of some other consequence, the Earl and I fell into discourse, part of which is as follows.

Mr. Story, said he, are you any ways related to the Storys of Cumberland? Yes, I replied, 'Thomas Story of Justice-Town is my father. Did you know Mr. James Appleby, one of your friends, who lived on a farm of mine at Askerton? Yes, very well. I have the bad news to tell you that he is lately dead; he was a good industrious man, and I think your people are generally sober and industrious, and few of you poor. We ought to be so, said I, for our principles lead us both to sobriety and industry.

He replied, "The great end of the Christian religion being to mortify and subdue the passions, irregular desires, and appeties of men, I see no people in the world come up to that as you do; but cannot apprehend by what means you arrive at these attainments. No doubt, said I, but thou hast read the scriptures, and mayst remember what Christ said to his disciples a little before he suffered; * *It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come: but if I go away, I will pray the Father, and he shall send you another Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth, which the Father will send in my name; † he shall lead you into all truth, and bring all things into your remembrance, whatever I have said unto you.*" Again, "I will not leave you comfortless; I will come again *unto you.* Here is the Spirit of Truth promised, which is no other than the Spirit of Christ; and is the same which was promised of God by his prophet, where he saith, *I will give him a light to the Gentiles, and a covenant to the people.* And as the Holy Scriptures elsewhere testify, *He is that true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* And of whom the apostle saith, *Believeth in the light, that ye may be children of the light; and if children then heirs.*

"Now

* John xvi.

† John xiv.

“ Now, though we, in and of ourselves, have been like other men, incident and subject to many failings and weaknesses; yet it being given us to believe in the Lord Jesus, not only as he came in the flesh in that day, but also as he is the light of the world; we do not only find that his spirit, as he said, reproved us for our sins, but is also become our comforter and supporter, as we have repented and left them off; and according to his promise, by degrees leads into all the necessary truths of the gospel, and out of evil into righteousness; giving us also to experience the end of his manifestation, the destruction of the works of the Devil, the mortification of our lusts, appetites and passions, and to be created anew to good works, through him our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: and what difference there is between us and other men, and in our present from our former state, it is the Lord that hath done it, and not ourselves; for we have nothing to boast of, but the mercies of God in him.

Then said the Earl, “ If the spirit of Christ and his light be all one, and that light be in all men, why does it not work the same effect in all men? why have I not power over my inclinations, as well as you over yours?”

To which Dr. Heathcote said, “ I was once in my time much given to wildness; but when it pleased God, by the manifestation of his divine light, to convince me of the vanity of things I was in the practice of, and the error of my course of life; through faith in this light, and obedience to its discoveries, I am now reformed, and got over those lusts and appetites of many kinds, which once were over me; and as I keep to that light, and not otherwise, I am daily preserved: the true reason of mens being overcome by evil is, because they believe not in that divine manifestation, which manifests it to be evil, but go on to act the same things after they see them to be wrong. But as men leave off evil when they see it, through the power and virtue of the discoverer, then they have

have further manifestations of that light that discovers it, and greater power over their corruptions, till all be discovered, and all subdued. Then there is a liberty and enjoyment in the truth, which far exceeds all the enjoyments of this world, and a satisfaction which nothing else can give : and therefore, if thou wouldst be rid of any thing thou finds amiss in thyself, thou must not act again the same thing thou hast once seen to be evil, or else there can never be a reformation."

Then the Earl said, " You are a very useful people in the nation, and, I think, deserve encouragement as well as any in it."

After some other discourse, he enquired upon what ground we refused to pay tithes ; and queried whether they were not commanded of God ? I said, " We do not deny but that they were commanded of God ; but they were made payable to the tribe of Levi, and located in the land of Canaan only, a country at the head of the Mediterranean sea, in Asia ; but by the coming of Christ, there is an end of that law by which tithes were given, and an end of that tribe, and the land now in the hands of the Turks ; so that the reason of the thing failing, the thing itself also fails : and since God, by the death of his Son, the great high priest and bishop of the soul, hath rejected that tribe, and that service, and established a new one, to whom he hath said *Freely ye have received, freely give.* We do not find he hath empowered any of the princes of the Gentiles to assign any maintenance for his ministers : but as they have been deceived by the subtilty of the craft to impose upon mankind by laws on that account, so by that wisdom, which in due time will arise among them, they will yet be instrumental to undo what they have done, and leave religion and the gospel on its own bottom ; which needs no other helper than its own author, or maintenance for its ministers, but what itself commands ; and they are really such as labour with all their might to make the
gospel

gospel they preach without charge: so far are they from destroying the people for the maintenance of their bodies, that they have no other reason or inducement for what they do, but obedience to the calling of God, and the good of souls; whereas the end of hirelings, though supported by law, is their own bellies."

Well, said he, "You do not like our ministers; but after all, I think you want one thing to make you a very complete people; that is, to bear arms."

To this I answered, "As it was prophesied, that under the new covenant, *they should beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; and that nation should not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.* So Christ being the mediator of that covenant, preached doctrines conducing to that end. *Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you; pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.*

"And to take away all suspicion of disloyalty to Cæsar, or danger of the state from his kingdom (which was the pretence of the Jews against him) he said to Pontius Pilate, "*My kingdom is not of this world: for if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but my kingdom is not of this world.* Here he declares his kingdom not to be of this world, being divine and spiritual, and that his servants will not fight, for if they love their enemies, they cannot fight with them (much less their friends) and if they do good to them that hate them, they cannot fight with them; and if they pray for them that despitefully use them, and persecute them, they are far from fighting with them. And this is to be remembered, that if they do not as Christ teacheth, they cannot be his disciples. *For then are ye my friends or disciples indeed,* said the Lord, *if ye do whatsoever I command you.*

"Now Christ laying the foundation of such a kingdom, which is not of the world, though in the world, and

and declaring his subjects will not fight, it is in this kingdom, which is a kingdom of righteousness, truth, and peace, in which the prophecy before-mentioned is begun to be fulfilled; and of this kingdom Christ himself, the Prince of righteousness and peace, is only king, ruler, and lawgiver; and which no ways interferes with the kingdoms of this world: for as *Christ himself*, being born a Jew, and they at that time subject, in some sort, to the Romans, paid tribute to Cæsar, thereby giving an example to all his disciples, in all countries and states, and in all future ages, as well as that time; so the disciples of Christ, though they may not fight, they pay taxes and tribute to civil states, as well by the example of their Lord and Master, as the doctrine of the apostle, in the 13th chapter to the Romans; where he sets forth clearly, that civil states and powers are of God, and that their end is, *to be a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well*. Since then the kingdom of Christ is not of this world; neither is it national, but spiritual: but God, *by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice*, having ordained government and rule, entrusts it with whom he pleases; and the temporal sword, as well of civil magistracy, as military force, being in the hands of kings and rulers, to exercise as need shall be; they, and not the disciples of Christ, must apply and administer accordingly, till by degrees the kingdom of Christ, the Prince of divine peace, have the ascendant over all kingdoms; not by violence, for his servants can offer none; *not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit*, saith the Lord. It will not be by human force or policy, but by conviction; not by violence, but consent, that *the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of God, and of his Christ*: nor will the kingdoms and powers in this world ever cease; (being God's ordinance in natural and civil affairs) till the reason of them cease; that is, till all violence and injustice cease, and evil-doing come to an end

end, by the advancement of truth, righteousness, love and peace, over all nations ; which is the true end of the coming of the Lord Jesus, and nature of his kingdom here on earth : so that as the kingdom of Christ can offer no other violence to the kingdoms or states of men, than that of love and truth, and his subjects may not fight, but pay taxes, customs, tribute, fear, and honour to all kings, powers, and states, in all nations where they are chosen of God out of the world to serve him, and bear testimony to his name ; neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian, Mahometan, Infidel, or nominal Christian, can have any reasonable jealousy of the true Christian, whose practice is according to the doctrine and commandments of his Lord and Master *Christ Jesus* : and whosoever falls short of that, ceases to be his disciple, and reverts to the world."

To this effect I answered the Earl, who heard me with great patience and candour ; and then replied, " It is true, so long as you behave peaceably, are loyal to the government, and pay your taxes, as you do, I think, when all is done, there is not an absolute necessity for your personal service in war, since his majesty may always have soldiers enough for money, as he may have occasion."

Some time being spent in what I have related, and things seeming to sit well on this great man's mind, I was willing to withdraw ; and rising upon my feet, I said to him, " Considering thy station and resort, we may trespass on thy time, which may be necessarily employed on publick services ; but if I might have liberty to wait on thee at leisure times, I do not doubt to make all these points we have gone upon, and all others wherein we differ from other professors of Christianity, very clear in favour of our profession ; and that the same thing, which now goes under the reproachful name of Quakerism and error, is no other than primitive and improved Christianity." To which he replied, " I shall be glad to see you at any convenient

convenient time, my hour is about nine or ten in the morning; and if I should happen to be indisposed, or otherwise engaged, I will let you know it, and expect you another time." Which accepting as a favour, I mentioned, "that a friend of mine, who had sometimes waited on him to solicit his assistance for relief of our friends, requested me to present him a book, being one of Robert Barclay's Apology, and if he pleased to read it over with attention, I hoped it would give him some more satisfaction, both concerning the principles we believe and suffer for, and our writings."

He readily received the book, and said, I will peruse it. After saying a few words more to him, we departed with great satisfaction.

I left London on the day before-mentioned, and that evening lodged at Ruscomb, at the widow Penn's. On the 18th of 7th month I was at Reading, and after at other places in my way to Bath, where I came on the 2d of 8th month. I staid here some time, and was at several meetings, which were large and satisfactory. Many of the nobility and gentry came, so that sometimes the house could not hold them. On a first day in the afternoon the meeting was very large, several of the nobility of both sexes being present. Good part of what I had to say was concerning the creed, "commonly called the apostles, and the interpretation of it; some things concerning the state of both Jews and Gentiles at the coming of Christ; the gross idolatry of the latter, and apostasy of the former; and that great part of the supposed Christian world now at this day is under great idolatry; instancing, the worship of a piece of bread, or a wafer, in the Romish church, and the inconsistency of transubstantiation with sense and reason, both which ought to be used in the Christian religion, and helped and improved: but speaking also against Deism (so much at this day prevailing) I said, Reason is not to be the sole guide of man, but the light and spirit of Christ;

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which

which being above reason, and the true illuminator and rectifier thereof, is the sure and unerring guide unto all that believe and truly follow him." The Lord's truth was over all, in the demonstration of his wisdom and power, to his own glory, and many were sensible of it. The meeting held near three hours, till it began to be duskish; and I was concerned in testimony about two hours and an half: and though many of the quality, as well as others, stood most of the time, I did not observe any of them express any weariness or other dislike.

On the 29th I had a full open meeting in a large new meeting-house of the General Baptists at Froom, which they readily lent us for that occasion, our own place being too small to accommodate the number expected. The subject was God's universal free grace, through Christ, unto all people: and I do not remember I was ever more fully or clearly opened upon it. The meeting being over, as I came out of the pew, an ancient grave woman asked me this question; "If Christ died for all, why were not all saved, since there could be no insufficiency in the blood of Christ to answer the end proposed?" I said in reply, "That if she had taken good heed to the whole of what was said in the meeting, this point had been made very plain and clear to her understanding; but since she had not, I further added, There is no insufficiency in the offering or offerer, but in mankind, that do not believe and obey; *For this is the condemnation of the world, that they have not believed in the only begotten Son of God.*" Again, *I am the light of the world,* (said Christ the Lord) *whosoever followeth me, shall not abide in darkness.*

And again, *This is the condemnation of the world, that light is come into the world; but men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. And further, Whatsoever things are reprov'd, are made manifest by the light; for whatsoever makes manifest, is light.*

All

All this is said of Christ, who is that one propitiation for the sin, not only of the apostles, and "those that had already believed, but also for the sins of the whole world, who at that time had not yet believed, but were still in unbelief; which offering being on God's part, in discharge of his promises before by his prophets; the way that the promises become effectual to us is, to believe in this light, that we may be the children of God in him; and first believing in this light, and walking in him, (that is, in obedience to his manifestations and discoveries) then the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin, and the promises are so applied; but the unbelieving and disobedient are under condemnation still, rejecting him, the light of the Gentiles, in whom the covenant is, and who is that covenant, and is altogether sufficient and complete in himself, though we may fail by our own neglect."

This answer she received, and was silent, going away with signs of respect.

On the 31st I went to Bristol, and staid there some weeks. I had some open times among them in the love of truth, the visitation whereof is towards them. Many important truths were opened; and the way of Satan's temptations in the thoughts and imaginations of mankind exposed to the meanest capacities; the necessity of regeneration, by the holy convincing power and spirit of the *Lord Jesus*, was inculcated and enforced; using all decent plainness with them concerning their present state: and as it was in the love of truth, they received it in the same ground: my ministry reaching to their understandings, and not their affections only, I hope it may be serviceable to many of them; though there have been appearances among them of such, who know not their own spirits, or ground of their ministry; which gives no testimony for truth, nor ascends higher than its own fountain, begetting harsh ideas like itself, but nothing that is sweet and lovely.

OR

On the 22d of 10th month I departed thence, leaving them in mutual love and friendship; and next day was at a meeting at Glastonbury, and on the 25th at Tinton. Our friend Philip Watts, landlord of the parish, of a considerable estate, being in Ivelchester prison for non-payment of church-rates (so called) by the prosecution of an ill-natured person in the neighbourhood, and, I suppose, one of his own tenants, so, being instigated and supported by some of the members of the ecclesiastical court at Wells, an old tichristian engine of oppression upon mankind, had been thus mischievous and wicked; which our friend bore with Christian patience, though separated from the comforts of his new married wife and family, and necessary concerns of life: all which I was concerned to take some notice of that day in my testimony, which is very open in the love of truth to the faithful.

After this I had meetings at divers other places in Hampshire and Dorsetshire; and on the 30th came to Salisbury: the next day, being first of the week, I was at their meetings; in the forenoon meeting I was greatly comforted in silence, and had an open time in testimony: in the afternoon the place was crowded with different sorts of people, the controversy being then warm about the Trinity, and some willing to hear what might be said relating to it: but I rather set forth Christ the "light of the Gentiles, and object of faith that way; exhorting all to a holy life, and to the keeping of the commandments of God; Christ setting himself forth as an example that way, saying, * *If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love, as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love.* That keeping Christ's commandments is a necessary consequence of loving him; and without keeping his commandments, all profession of discipleship is vain. *If any man love me, he will keep my command-*

* John xv. 10.

ments;

ments; and my Father will love him, and we will come and make our abode with him. In that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you." Again, "** He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him. And seeing this is life eternal to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent; and that knowledge is not to be acquired, but as God pleases to make himself known, it is better to wait humbly upon God for this knowledge, to be experimental witnesses of his presence in the Son of his love, than to have any notions of him, other than what he gives; since no man can form any true idea of him; or is he any thing to any man, but what he himself pleases. But as he is declared to be love to all his humble, faithful, and obedient children, and a consuming fire to the ungodly, it is better we all labour so to behave and demean ourselves to him, and one to another, as to escape his wrath, and abide in his love, than by unwarrantable curiosities, and neglect of our duty, to provoke his displeasure.*

"*The sum of religion is to love God with all the soul, and with all the strength, and one another in him, without which all speculations are vain.*" These, with many other truths of the gospel, were freely, and with good authority opened in that meeting, to general satisfaction.

On the 1st and 3d of 12th month I had meetings at Romsey and Southampton, which were but small, little notice having been given to the neighbours, and as they were sparing that way, so the Lord was sparing to them, for we had a poor time, though some were alive.

From hence I went to the Isle of Wight, and had meetings at Cowes and Newport; many people came to the meeting at Newport, and were disturbing, so

* 1 John ii. 4.

that I had occasion, after the meeting was ended, to reprove them, and said, "They were a reproach to government, a shame to their parents, a scandal to their teachers, and a grief to the honest-hearted. I added, that the teachers among the first reformed Protestants, used to catechise the youth of their profession every first day, by which some impressions of religion were made early in their minds. But as many of those now in this nation, mind little else than to seek their gain from their quarters, their hearers were too generally become brutish, and so far from religion, that they were below a moral education." Some of the sober sort said, there was too much in it to be denied; and blamed one another as they passed in the streets.

On the 8th I passed over to Portsmouth, where we had a meeting; from hence I went to Gosport, Portchester, Alsford, Alton, Godalming, and Guilford, and had meetings. On the 19th I went to Darking, where we had a large meeting, though there are but few friends; many things of moment were opened among them, and with good authority; coming close upon such as secretly are convinced of the way of truth, but for reasons relating to this world will not own it; especially in these texts, and some short comments upon them, viz. * *He that denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my Father and the holy angels; and he that confesseth me before men, him will I also confess before my Father and the holy angels.* † *He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.*

‡ *With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* It is not therefore sufficient that a man be inwardly, and secretly convinced of the truth, and way of it, or to know who are the people of God, and yet not own it

* Luke xii.

† Matt. x. 40.

‡ Rom. x. 10.

openly;

openly ; but as the unbelieving are excluded, so also the fearful ; and neither father, mother, wife, or children, houses or lands, oxen or farms, liberty or life, are to be preferred to the calling of God ; since Christ has told his disciples from the beginning what they must expect in this world for his name's sake, if they believe in him, and follow him fully. And, as ignorance will be no excuse in the day of the Lord, and the unbelieving are condemned already ; so it will be no plea in the day of the Lord, for any to say, I did not believe these were thy ministers, or these the truths of thy gospel, which I heard them declare ; or that thy light and grace, they witnessed unto. Since, this is the condemnation of the world, that they have not believed in the only begotten Son of God, who hath declared himself to be the light of the world ; and his servants have witnessed, that he is that true light *which lighteth every man that cometh into the world*, that all men through him might believe." I staid here till the 21st ; and after being at a meeting at Street Cobham, I proceeded to London, where I staid some time.*

On the 25th of 3d month, 1722, I went from London, accompanied by Benjamin Holmes, and came that night to Chelmsford, from thence we went to Coggeshall and Colchester, to the quarterly meeting, and after to Woodbridge, Ipswich, Needham, Bury, and Milner, taking the meetings.

On the 13th of 4th month I had a meeting appointed at Cambridge, to which many of the scholars of the university came, there was good suitable matter for them ; but alas ! they were so wild, so airy, wanton, and foolish, that not many of them could be touched ; yet several of them, in time, grew more solid and attentive ; and, I believe, the arrows of the Almighty

* N. B. In this interval no transaction is mentioned necessary to be inserted in this abridgment.

did not miss them all. O that they had been still but one hour ! for the advantage which might have accrued to them by the excellent openings I had that day, through the grace of God. The 14th, being their meeting day, I staid the meeting, which consisted only of a very few friends, who live there, and two or three of the neighbourhood who came in ; it was sober and comfortable. From hence I went to Walden, Royston, Ware, and divers other meetings in Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire. On the 6th of 5th month I was at Wickham, where the meeting was large and very open, the power of the blessed truth reigning triumphantly, and the meeting generally broken and comforted. I left an exhortation with them to keep up their testimony faithfully against the payment of tithes, that great support of antichristian priestcraft. The next day I went to Oxford, where there are few of our society, besides Thomas Nichols and his family : but the scholars come much more to meetings of late, than for many years past, and are not so rude as heretofore : being first day of the week, many came to the meeting in the forenoon ; and in the afternoon it was very full, both of scholars, and other people of both sexes ; most of the scholars were solid and attentive, and staid the meeting, there being but little lightness at all among them ; so that we had a large, open, comfortable meeting : and, by the exercise of my own mind, the doctrines I had to deliver, and the love of truth attending, I hope there was some good done that day, to the Lord be the praise, whose work alone it is to save ; whether immediately or instrumentally, it is the Lord's ! I was after this at Witney, Burford, Milton, Cirencester, Tedbury, Painswick, Nailsworth, Sedbury ; in some of these meetings a drowsiness appeared to the hindrance of the worship of God.

On the 20th of 5th month I was again at their meeting at Nailsworth, which was large and laborious, the
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more so because most of them were a young people, hardly convinced, and of little knowledge of truth as it is in Christ Jesus; yet sober, as men, and hopeful. On the 22d I went to Bristol, and it being near the time of the fair, staid on purpose to attend the meetings, which are then usually larger than at other times; here I had very open service for the Lord, his truth, and people.

On the 8th of 6th month I was at the meeting at Frenchay, which was open and comfortable, returning to Bristol, I staid till the 18th, and then went to the burial of a friend at Thornbury. On the 26th was at the meeting at Claverham, which was pretty large, consisting mostly of young people, not yet much baptized into the nature of truth, which made my exercise for them the harder.

On the 27th I went to Chewmagna, on a visit to my ancient and much esteemed friend, the widow Elizabeth Vickris, I having been in my early time well acquainted in that family. On the 29th I went to Sidcot meeting, and after that to Bridgwater and Wellington; and on the 6th of 7th month was at Spice-land meeting, where we had a good season together in Christ Jesus our Lord, though some sharp things were uttered, in the authority of truth, to some states, especially the drowsy, sleepy, lukewarm, and indolent, who take up a false rest in that unhappy state, to the danger of their utter ruin, after many years fruitless profession of the truth. On the 7th I was at Collompton, and that night lodged at Thomas Finnimore's, where came Thomas Beavan, from Melsham, who favoured us with the reading of his manuscript, "proving that reason in man, and divine truth, are distinct things; though too many people, of divers denominations, some among ourselves not excepted, are ready to mistake one for the other, and establish their own reason, instead of divine truth; the spirit of man, with his fallacious reasonings, (in which is endless wranglings,

wranglings, uncertainty, and confusion) instead of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ; which leadeth man into all righteousness and truth, with demonstrative certainty and undoubted assurance, which man's own reasoning, without the light of truth, could never do; more than the eye can see without the medium of light, though its faculty of seeing (in itself) be ever so perfect."

On the 8th we went to Exeter, to the yearly meeting, which began the next day: this meeting was appointed by consent of the yearly meeting in London, and intended for the more effectual promulgation of truth in the several counties to which it was confined, like those in the north, not meddling with matters of business or discipline, but only worship, doctrine, and occasional communication of holy things. "It was a good time throughout, but, as such meetings generally are observed to be, was brighter and brighter, and brightest in the end: for as they consist of a mixed multitude, of different degrees and notions, the understandings of the uncouth and ignorant are darkest at first coming, and their senses benumbed; but as they come to be illuminated by the testimony of truth, and their senses a little awakened to relish something of the sweetness and virtue of it, truth then flows more freely unto them, with a greater facility in the minister, and reception in the hearer; and the sensible and living, (who, in the life of the Son, and as they stand related to him, who beareth the infirmities of all from the foundation of the world) in the beginning of such meetings, are often deeply and mysteriously laden; but being eased of their burthen and travail, now laid upon those in the auditory, where it rightly belongs, things then proceed, and conclude to the mutual comfort and ease; which was much the case in this meeting, for the most part consisting of a young uncultivated sort of our own natural offspring, and others, who were strangers to the verbal testimony of truth;

truth; yet there was a living people, and ministry among us; and, as the crown of all, the presence of the everlasting Lord God, in some good degree, blessed our assembly. And the meeting of ministers on the second day morning, was most eminently favoured with it, to our mutual help and encouragement."

On the 13th the quarterly meeting for the county of Somerset was there, and well filled with good friends: "The Lord gave me an open utterance at that time, and a free reception to my satisfaction, and the hearts of friends were freely opened in the same; for he who openeth, and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth, and who had and hath the key of David, was there, and blessed us together in one name, unto which we bowed, and in which we worshipped and adored him, who liveth, and reigneth, and is worthy for evermore! Our spirits being thus refreshed in the presence of the Lord, the concerns of the meeting for business were carried on and finished with unity and comfort." On the 15th I set forward for Bridgewater, and in the way my horse taking fright, by suddenly meeting a man leading a dog, he turned round at once, and run back with heady fury, so that I could by no means stop him, but was at length thrown off, and pretty much hurt; however I got to Bridgewater, and attended a meeting there the following day, in the evening, which was large, and the whole service of it (as to an outward ministry) falling upon me, I was not sensible of any deficiency or weakness from all my bruises; but as the Lord was pleased to work in and by me in a good degree, affording healing virtue by the same power, I was from that time little sensible of any danger, but recovered far beyond my own expectation, or that of others. After being at Marks and Claverham, I went to Bristol, where friends were glad of my return, and escape of so great danger; I was also glad to find them in peace and love. I staid here till the 26th, having some as open times

times as ever I knew in this place, to general satisfaction, as well as my own great consolation: my testimony tending, in the main, to a visitation of the love of truth to the young generation! many of them being touched with a sense of the Lord's goodness therein.

I went from hence to Bath, where I attended the service of truth for some time, many of the nobility and gentry frequenting our meetings. On the 18th of 9th month I was at Bradford, and after at several other meetings in Wiltshire, and at Newbury, Reading, Maidenhead. And on the 4th of 10th month had a meeting, in the evening, at Windsor, a great many of the town's people coming in: "and as we were often concerned to declare the universal love of God to mankind, so about this time, as before, I felt much of it, even a dispensation of it to the people in most places; and many great and necessary truths were declared, as the Lord opened, on that occasion, with good authority, and clear proofs out of the holy scriptures, both of the prophets, and also of the apostles of Christ. The gravity of truth was over and upon the people; and they departed from the place, when the meeting was over, under a grave and solid concern. And the Lord gave me great peace, as a full reward in that work, blessing me as a co-worker with himself (the great master-workman) therein." On the 5th I went to Jordan week-day meeting, which was but small, most of the ancients, who were once numerous there, being deceased, and their reward sure for ever! That evening I returned to Windsor, and was at the week-day meeting there the next day; the meeting ended about mid-day. I went that afternoon to Staines, where I fell in with their meeting, which is usually in the evening; and as they had heard of my intentions that way, they had given notice to some of the neighbours, and the meeting was larger than usual, and very open, much beyond my expectation.

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“ But the goodness of the Lord is boundless, and the treasures of his wisdom not to be searched out or exhausted, which he freely dispenses, and opens, when and where and in what manner and degree he pleases, to the purposes of his own glory and good of souls: some renewed instances of it were here witnessed, to the affecting many with his goodness, to his own praise, who is worthy of all dominion, praise, and thanks for evermore !”

The day following I went to London, where I met with a kind reception from friends in general, and great openness in several meetings among them, in which the Lord gave evidence of his presence and power with me in his service, as at many other times it had so pleased him. I continued here visiting the meetings, and was at some places adjacent till the 4th of 2d month, 1723, when I set forward for Chester, (where the meeting had been appointed for this year) and arrived there on the 8th: the meeting was very large, and great openness to the people, as well as friends; for the universal love of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord to mankind, was not only preached, but in some measure enjoyed among us! At the last meeting there was about three thousand, and, by the goodness of the Lord, preserved in good order. On the 12th I went to Wrexham, from thence to Shrewsbury, and was at the meetings there on first day; the same evening I went to Prestane, on the border of Wales, in order to that yearly meeting, which began the day following; people came from many places round, and it was a very large meeting; many gospel truths were opened, by the grace of God, therein; and the truth, in some good degree, was in dominion over the people. After this I went to Lemster, Worcester, Evesham, and Oxford, from thence to London, where I staid some time, having divers of my own concerns to order, as well as those of others, and likewise visited the meetings, till the 7th of 9th month,

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when I set forward for Cumberland; and taking meetings in the way, came to Justice Town, the place of my nativity, on the 16th of 10th month.

I remained in this country about two years, and was at the yearly meeting for the northern counties at Carlisle; and with John Irwin and some other friends, had meetings at fresh places in the summer following, likewise attended meetings as they fell in course in the county; and was at the yearly meeting held at Kendal in the year 1725, which was the largest I ever saw there, and very open. Having some concerns with the Lord Lonsdale, I went to Lowther Hall, where he then resided, to attend him therein; he shewed me more respect than I desired or expected; and, after I had finished my business with him, he moved some discourse on religious subjects, the chief of which was, the knowledge of God, and by what means mankind may arrive at it; in which I was drawn out to this purpose: "That many wise and ingenious men apply themselves, with success, to the knowledge of things in this life, and what is relating thereto, and yet keep not within the strict rules of virtue, for want of which their knowledge vanishes in the end, as not subservient to the purposes of another world: therefore I recommended to a real enquiry after the knowledge of God, as the most noble, and most profitable subject a rational being could be concerned about, and altogether necessary, in order to our happiness, as well in this as in a future state; which man can never arrive at by the utmost efforts of human reason; for, though such who are endued with reason cannot deny there is a God from the works of creation, which produced not themselves, but were produced by another; and must conclude the Creator to be eternal, without beginning or end, all-wise, all-knowing, all-powerful, omnipresent, holy, righteous, just, and good, in all divine perfections unchangeable. And though in all these attributes we read of him in the

the Holy Scriptures, and hear clear discourses of him frequently made by such as say they know him, and, perhaps in some measure may; yet all this is but an image of knowledge, as to us, until by the agency of his own power and will, he is pleased to work in us such qualifications as whereby we may perceive him, through that holy and blessed medium which he himself hath, in good will to mankind, provided to that end; that we may believe in him, hope for him, know him, have communion with him in a degree in this life, and be for ever blessed in the enjoyment of him in a future state: of which knowledge no man can rightly conceive by any thing another can say, who hath that knowledge, unless he to whom it is said, or declared, be in himself in some degree, under the same qualifications, by which the things declared, are self-evidencing by their own nature and energy: as for example, to a man born blind, another can find no terms whereby to give him a proper and distinct idea of colours, of light, and the manner of the discovery of objects by that medium unto those that see; whereas every one that hath the use of his sight, concludes the same thing by a kind of sensitive intuition, at first view, without the expence of ratiocination, or deducing conclusions from stated premises: nor, if we can suppose any one has never in his life been touched with any sense of that natural affection, or principle we call love; is it possible, by any terms that may be used, to inculcate in such a person an idea of the thing? whereas all who experience it, are affected in the same manner, though perhaps not to the same degree, and need no other terms but itself to inculcate it.

“ Since then, in natural things, it is impossible to exhibit proper ideas to the apprehensions of those who are deprived of natural qualifications and capacities to receive them; how much more so in spiritual, which cannot find out proper terms by which to exhibit them to the view or apprehension of others, but as we bor-

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row them from natural things, which can never reach them as they are: when it is said, *God is a Spirit*. A man must have an idea of a spirit, before he can fix any notion of God by that term; and by the word *God*, we intend to express an awful and ineffable Being: but none of these terms exhibit that Being to our sense, either in fear or love. I come then to some positive expressions of Christ, viz. *No man hath known the Father but the Son, and to whomsoever the Son will reveal him. This is life eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. No man can come unto me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him. No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten (or first begotten) Son of God, who dwelleth in the bosom of the Father, he hath manifested (or revealed) him.*"

By this it appears, First, "That God may be known, though not immediately, but by a proper medium. Second, That this medium is Christ, the word of God; who having a reasonable soul, and clothed therewith as a veil, is homogenous to mankind, and thereby proportions the splendor of his glory, as God, to the state of every soul, gradually revealing or manifesting the Father therein, according to the degrees of purification, capacity, and qualification he worketh in it. Third, That this knowledge is an experience, and gives the soul a certain evidence and assurance of eternal life; and God himself is that eternal life. Fourth, That as the knowledge of the Son makes way for the knowledge of the Father, so the drawings of the Father excite to the knowledge of the Son. It is not therefore the knowledge of God's attributes, or all formal truths, but of God himself, who is the essential truth, in which our happiness stands, and for ever shall remain: for there are essential truths, and there are formal truths; Jesus Christ, the wisdom of God and power of God, is that essential truth; and that he is the Son of God, was incarnate, lived as a man here

here on earth, was crucified as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, died, rose again, ascended, is glorified in heaven, &c. are all formal unalterable truths; and yet the knowledge of these do not give life eternal, until the soul comes to experience the indwelling of the essential truth, in its nature and being, through that holy and blessed medium, homogenous unto all; which cannot be until we are reduced unto a state of holiness and purity of mind. Therefore to illustrate all I have said in a practical way, give me leave to add, Whilst I was in a natural and unconverted state, I believed the being of God, and all his attributes; but I did not actually know God to be righteous or holy, till he reprovèd unrighteousness or unholiness in me; or merciful and good, until through condemnation of evil, convincing me of evil in myself, he also pardoned the acts of sin, and destroyed the effects thereof by the agency of his own power, working that change, which is meet, according to his own will, through which I experience both his goodness and mercy. Nor had I known him as a consuming fire, unless by the refining operation of his Spirit, he had consumed my corruptions, or begun that work; or, that he is love, divine, unspeakable love, unless by his own power, he had fitted me, in some measure, to enjoy the influences of his grace, in a state of holiness; in which he rules, as a monarch, in the soul, according to that saying, *The kingdom of heaven stands not in meats and drinks* (no outward or natural enjoyments) *but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*; which I know, through grace, infinitely transcends, even in this life, all that can be named besides. And though formal truths are commonly clouded and confounded by the perverse and ignorant reasonings of the learned of this world, and numerous opinions and sects are produced thereby; yet the essential truth is self-evidencing; and whenever it appears in the soul, she cannot deny or doubt;

but, by the cogency of his power and virtue, certainly and infallibly conclude in herself, that this is he: for as there is no way or medium by which we perceive the body of the sun in the firmament of heaven outward, but by the light which proceeds from it, so there is not any medium by which we can know God, but by his own light and truth, which is Jesus Christ, the efflux and emanation of his own glory and being.

“ And as the light of the sun carries along with it the power and virtue of the sun, wherever it shineth, in its unclouded rays, and, by its influence, nourishes and makes fertile the animal and vegetable worlds; even so, and much more also, doth the heavenly Son of Righteousness, Jesus Christ, the essential truth and light of the rational and intellectual world, make known and manifest himself in the soul; into whom (by the rays of his divine light) he introduceth and dispenseth the influence of all divine and heavenly virtue into them. I mean, who believe and obey in the day of small things; according to that doctrine of an experienced holy man: * *All things that are reprov'd, are made manifest by the light; for whatsoever doth make manifest, is light.* And according to that saying of the Truth himself, † *I am the light of the world; he that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.* We must therefore begin at the word of reproof, in order to the sure knowledge of God, and enjoyment of him, as he is love, and an ocean of unspeakable pleasure; and renounce the low and sordid pleasures of the animal life, which unqualify for divine enjoyments here and hereafter. But love God, love his judgments and reproofs, which are all in love, in order to the manifestation of himself, agreeably to his own declaration, *Every son whom I love I rebuke and chasten.* And I can testify, that as I have tasted of the pleasures of this world, and, through the good-

* Ephes. v. 13.

† John viii. 12.

ness of God, known condemnation therein; so, through his great mercy, I am favoured of him with this certain experience, in some measure, that the enjoyment of God, in a state of reconciliation, is undeclarably more excellent and eligible than all other things; to the experience whereof I would recommend ——” After I had said thus much,

The Lord Lonsdale asked me, “Since you had (before you came to the knowledge of God in the way you have spoken of) believed the being of God, and all his attributes, did that knowledge make any alteration in your way of thinking on that subject, or give you any contrary sentiments that way?” I replied, “No; for as reason, a constituent property of man, is still the same, and things causeable thereto or thereby, as its proper objects, the same also; so the knowledge of God makes no alteration there, though reason of itself can never give the saving and experimental knowledge of the Almighty, as I have before observed.”

Then he was pleased to say, “Some things you have hinted at are new to me, which I have never read of in any book, or heard before.” Thus the conversation at that time came to a conclusion, there being only one person besides myself and the Lord Lonsdale present. Upon another like occasion, after this, I had some further discourse with the same person on the subject of tithes. He alledged, “That kings and great men, being possessed of countries, and large quantities of land, gave the tenths to the support of ministers; and the same laws which gave nine parts to the laity, gave the tenth to the clergy.”

To this I replied, “That the law gives no property, but protects the possessor in it against violence.” Then I deduced property from its original thus: “The first property a man hath is his person, life, and liberty; and as these are from God, and the right of all men, so he has provided means for the support of them un-

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to all. The means of the support of person and life, is food and raiment, arising either naturally from the fruits of the earth, spontaneously growing; animal creatures; or by the personal labour or industry of man. Cain, it is said, was a tiller of the ground, and Abel a keeper of sheep. When Cain had cleared and cultivated a piece of ground, and propagated useful things thereon, that and those became the property of Cain, by his personal labour; in which the law of natural reason will protect him against any thing but personal violence. And, Abel, taking under his care and management some of the creatures he found most proper for his use and purpose, they became his property, by his care, labour and pains; in which also he was protected by the same law. And, all just laws are no other than right reason, declared by way of compact upon that principle of reason, constituent of our being. But when the earth was filled with violence, God, by the element of water, destroyed the world, save Noah and his family, by whom he replenished it.

“ This being the idea of property, I observed, men may forfeit it, in the sight of God, by extreme wickedness; as may be instanced in a malefactor, who by his evil deeds forfeits his life, liberty, or property, or all: but then no private person can take cognizance of such offences, incurring such forfeitures, other than to bear witness against the offender, in order to conviction, and adequate punishment before a stated judicature, of which no nation is destitute, though varying in circumstances. Since then property in lands, &c. cannot be justly taken away from any one (not forfeiting it) without consent, what is the consent necessary to that end? It must be either in a publick or private capacity; private, as by his own particular act to give such lands to such a minister or priest, on condition of certain services, or for the service of religion in general, according to the notion the donor had of it; or publick,

lick, as where the legislature of any country, for politick views and interests, make laws for the alienation of the property of the subjects, with or without their private or particular consent, where, though property is truly invaded, yet the major directing the minor, the compulsion to obedience is held lawful and just, whatever it may be in the nature of the thing; and particulars sit under the burden. But all this binds not the conscience, though property is forced.

“ All which I apply as followeth; this nation was once free from all tithes, and other impositions of that sort, till antichristian priestcraft (more subtil than that of the heathen) so far seduced the minds of weak and ignorant men, prone to superstition and idolatry, that they often gave away to the priests the whole, or greatest part of their substance, (at least on their dying beds) for pretended chimerical services: as praying the departed souls of themselves or friends out of a supposed purgatory, with certain masses; which so far prevailed in this nation, that the legislature, fearing the whole lands would in time fall into the hands of the clergy, made a law, called the Statute of Mortmain, as a means to prevent it; which, in some degree, answered the end, and clogged their proceedings. But I do not remember to have seen any law, by the legislature of this kingdom, for imposing of tithes, or so much as for the recovery of them, or any thing to the priests under the notion of dues until the reign of King Henry VIII. When men's eyes began to be so far opened, that many refused to pay them, as appears by the preamble of the statutes, made for that end in his reign; which establishes the customs on foot in favour of the priests, for forty years before: (no doubt originally of their own beginning and imposing). These statutes, being defective, were corroborated by the second statute of Edward VI. still in force. By all which it appears, these men never came fairly and equitably to the large share they demand, and

and receive out of the property of others; especially of those who cannot receive them as gospel ministers; since the Author of religion himself hath commanded his ministers; * *That as freely they have received, they shall freely give.*

“The laws of the land therefore, upon the whole, though they bind the property, by a sort of national violence, yet they can never bind the conscience. For which, and the Lord of conscience, we suffer with patience, as witnesses on earth for him who reigneth in heaven, until, in the course of his providence, he appears for our relief, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and doth what he will in and with the kingdoms of men.”

My noble antagonist replied, not without a little pleasantness, “He would not yet yield me the argument;” though he was pleased to propose another subject of a different tenor.

In the course of this year I attended meetings in different places, as Newcastle, Sunderland, Shields, &c. and made a visit to the Earl of Carlisle, at Castle Howard. He was confined to his chamber by illness, but sending up my name, he readily admitted me, and expressed some satisfaction to see me; and being set down, after a little pause of silence, he moved a discourse to this purpose: “That as mankind are incident to many troubles and temptations in life, he observed a great difference between the trouble of mind which ariseth from losses and disappointments in the things of the world, and that which proceeds from a sense of the misconduct of life, in a course inconsistent with duty to God, and his known laws.”

This great truth I confirmed in the words of Solomon, † “*The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity; but a wounded spirit who can bear?*” Magnanimous persons may sustain for a long time the shocks of bodily

* Matt. x. 8.

† Prov. xviii. 14.

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ailments, as likewise of losses and disappointments in life; but when, by our rebellion and disobedience to that holy law of life and grace (which God in mercy hath placed in us for our guide and conductor, with respect to himself, and towards one another) we wound not only our consciences, but crucify to ourselves the Son of God afresh, and wound his Holy Spirit in us, our anxiety must needs be incomparably greater in this case, than the former; yet such is the unspeakable goodness of God to mankind, and the efficacy of the virtue of that grace that flows from him, that he does not only shew us our transgressions, and the evil of them; nor only the wounds and gangrene sores thereby produced; but as we are truly humbled in that view, and willing to amend for time to come, He, most kind and beneficent, sends forth his healing and restoring virtue, as emollient ointment, taking away the anguish, and healing all our wounds."

This introduced a large field of discourse, which held near three hours; and, I believe, to mutual satisfaction, much upon the points following, viz.

First, "Faith in Christ, as come in the flesh, being the word, power, and wisdom of God assuming our nature."

Second, "Faith in him as a quickening spirit, and divine light, flowing from the Father into our minds, affecting and influencing at certain times, and in such degrees as pleaseth him: being as a condemning law in us whilst we are in a state of unbelief, sin, and rebellion; but a law of divine, immortal life, and true comforter, in a penitent and faithful state; to which he himself reduceth us by his judgments, and by his mercy, inwardly revealed and applied. By the ministration of judgment, wasting, as with divine fire and sword, the whole body of the sins of the flesh and carnal mind; and at the same time, in and by the same spirit, manifesting and applying mercy, and life eternal to the believing, humble, and penitent soul; and

so completing that salvation declared by the coming of Jesus Christ, his death and sufferings."

Third, "The kingdom of Christ in this world, ruling and reigning in the minds of regenerate men, by his grace and spirit, as King of Salem, Prince of righteousness and peace, in all them that believe and obey; who are the children of this kingdom in divine communion."

Fourth, "The kingdoms of men, established by the providence of God for the government of the world in its natural state, for the preservation of life, liberty, character, property; the better sort of men, in a moral, social state, being children of this kingdom."

Fifth, "The kingdom of antichrist, being a false shew and pretence of Christianity, under which all cruelties and oppressions are and have been acted, to the destruction of life, liberty, property, and religion. And the children of this kingdom are, more especially, ministers, professing Christ, but living to themselves; being called by hopes of honour, power, and advantage in this world, and not of the Lord: and the great men of this world, as likewise those in low stations, confederating with them in worldly views, against the natural and common interests of the rest of mankind, enslaving the conscience by force of human laws, of their own devising, agreeably to what Christ said to his disciples, *They shall put you out of the synagogues*. In which they are influenced by a devouring, destroying spirit, contrary to the nature of Christ, who is a mild, innocent, and saving power, most gentle, wise, and beneficent, bringing forth in men his own fruits, and making them like unto himself; as antichrist renders all his children like unto him, proud, lofty, angry, fierce, cruel, and unjust; arbitrary, and unreasonable, implacable, tyrannical, without compassion and mercy, which is ever seen in all persecutors, whether under the pretence and umbrage of national laws, or despotick and absolute domination and rule."

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Having discoursed on these and some other important matters till near the time of their dining, the Lady Irwin, one of his daughters, came in, desiring to know what he would please to eat; to which he did not presently answer, but bid her sit down in the room; and after a little pause, he said to her, "I could have wished you had been present, to have heard what passed between us on divers subjects; and then proceeded to mention how great an esteem he had for friends, as an honest religious people: and as we had been great sufferers on account of our principles, he had ever helped and served us to the best of his power, and ever would." All which he spake with solid gravity, as if he meant to impress on her mind a good opinion of us; when he had finished, he desired her to take me with her to dinner, for he could not go himself. I accordingly went to dinner, the company being only this lady, and two or three more, among whom I was civilly treated.

In the afternoon I returned to Malton to an evening meeting, and staid their monthly meeting; next day I went to York, where I attended several meetings to good satisfaction. From hence I went to Selby, Rawcliff, Thorn, Gainsborough, and other places, having meetings in my way to London, where I arrived on the 20th of 10th month. Friends were generally glad to see me, and I also to meet with them in the Lord; and many comfortable and confirming opportunities we had together.

After some time I returned to Carlisle, and Justice Town, visiting some neighbouring meetings, and prosecuting some affairs of my own; and did not take any journey out of the county of Cumberland till the 25th of 2d month 1728, when I set forward for the yearly meeting at Edinburgh; to which many of the inhabitants of the city came, and were much more quiet and attentive than heretofore. Truth prevailed in its authority and brightness, and the people departed under a grave sense of a degree of the virtue of

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it. We had several publick meetings till the 6th of 3d month, when I went to Linlithgow, and had a meeting; from thence to Glasgow, where I had several meetings, to which many of the more reputable sort of people of the city came; and the Lord favoured us. On the 12th we had a peaceable open meeting at Robert Gray's near Garthshore, with the few friends remaining in those parts, and next day returned to Edinburgh; from whence I proceeded to Kelso, Berwick, &c. taking meetings in my way to Carlisle, where I came on the 7th of 4th month.

On the 4th of 3d month 1730, I was again at the yearly meeting at Edinburgh, and at some meetings at Glasgow, to a good degree of satisfaction, though one of them somewhat disturbed by a company of the collegians, who were ruder than any other of the lower sort; which gave me some heavy reflections, "that these seminaries of the members, both of the national church and state, should be so depraved; to see the good intentions of well-meaning parents so cheated and eluded by the ignorance, perfidiousness, and idleness of those well-paid teachers, to whom the care of them and their education is committed, is lamentable and shocking: for, alas, what but bitter and poisonous waters can be expected from such depraved and envenomed fountains."

We were favoured at every meeting with having civil officers sent by the magistrates to keep out the ruder sort, which contributed to our outward quiet. On the 15th I returned to Edinburgh, and from thence to Justice Town, at which place, and near to it, I employed myself in my favourite amusement of planting and improving my land, at the same time visiting meetings as they came in course, and enjoying the conversation of my friends and neighbours till the 2d month 1731, when I set out on a journey, and was at divers meetings, as Kendal, Lancaster, Preston, Warrington. On the 13th I went to Chester to the yearly meeting, which began about two in the afternoon for the ministers

ters and elders; and the next day was meetings for worship, both forenoon and afternoon; which were very large, having the company of great part of the citizens, and many of the gentry round. On the 15th, in the forenoon, was the meeting of conference, and quarterly meeting for Cheshire; and in the afternoon a meeting for worship, at which several thousands of people, many of them being of the more reputable sort, and, among others, seven ministers of the national church, who, as well as the people, spake well of the testimony of truth, which was delivered among them: for which many friends were thankful to the Lord our God, who hath wrought so great a change in the minds of the people, not only in this place, but also in most places at this day throughout all Britain, and the British dominions every where. John Fallowfield being at the meeting, he and I staid till the first day following, and had two meetings more, I think, to general satisfaction.

On the 20th we went to Ludlow, where the yearly meeting for Wales was to be held this year. There was no friends here, nor had been any meeting held for a long time (if ever) before. The first was held in the prince's palace, in a large hall, by the favour of Captain Jones the governor; but being very much crowded, the ministering friends divided themselves in the afternoon, so that another meeting was held at the same time in a room adjoining to the hall; and both were large. The Lord was with us, and his gospel was preached, in his wisdom and power, to general satisfaction; and notwithstanding the great throng of people, there was not any disorder among them; for the magistrates, to their just commendation, had taken precaution, by making proclamation through the town, and pasting the same up in writing in the market, or some publick place, that if any should molest the meeting, or give any disturbance, such should be severely punished; and besides this encouragement

agement they appointed constables to attend the gates, some of whom were very serviceable in the meetings, in directing the people to convenient seats, and placing them to the best advantage for general accommodation. The meetings ended on the 22d, and I went the next day to Lemster, and had a meeting; but returned on the 25th to Ludlow, being first day of the week, and had two meetings, that in the morning not large; but in the afternoon the great hall was well filled with sober people, to whom the gospel was yet more fully preached, and was the most open meeting we had in the place; and so we left them in peace and love.

After this I went to Worcester, Cheltenham, and divers other places, till I came to Bristol, John Irwin and John Fallowfield being with me; here we staid the time of the yearly meeting, and had good service; the meetings being large and open, and the kingdom of God preached. On the 22d of 3d month I went to Nailsworth, and from thence to many other places in these parts, taking meetings till the 9th of 5th month, when I was at Bristol again. I never went to that city with less hope, or more down in my mind, than at this time; but on the third day, the meeting being larger than usual, was pretty generally reached, and more of the young sort of both sexes tendered, than I had observed there, or elsewhere for a long time; after which I was not so much loaded in my spirit as before in that city, where there is still a great body of people under our profession, who, I hope, will remain honourable in the truth, and increase in the power and virtue of it. On the 14th I went to a meeting at Belton, accompanied with Alexander Arscott, an honest and good warrior for truth on earth against the infidels of the present age. A considerable number of friends and others attended the meeting, among whom my labour was hard for some time; to what purpose I do not know: for, though many im-
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portant truths of the gospel were plainly opened, I did not find any great impression they made, nor was I very easy afterwards, but under a kind of deadness; which, I fear, is the state of too many people, to whom we minister; though several at this time seemed well satisfied with the meeting.

I went to a meeting at Frenchay, and on the 21st returned to Bristol, where I staid during the time of the fair, attending the meetings, which were very large and open. On the 5th of 6th month I was at the week-day meeting at Nailsworth, and also the first day following, to satisfaction: from hence I went to Cirencester, Burford, Whitney, Charlbury, and Oxford. Here I felt my mind loaded with the power of darkness which may be felt, constantly prevailing in that seat of wisdom, but not the wisdom of God. I was here on the first day of the week; the meeting remained heavy and dark a considerable time, till the never-failing truth arose, and dispersed it; in which, being over all opposite spirits, I stood up, and many things were opened of great importance, without any disturbance from the scholars, many of whom were there. Having thus succeeded, the way was easier at our next meeting in the afternoon, where, having matter of importance to deliver, with full authority, several of them were affected. On the 16th I went to Banbury, to Benjamin Kidd's; and next day was at a meeting at South Newington; which was open and well. I was at several meetings after this, in my way to Nottingham and Mansfield; from whence I went to Sir John Rhodes's at Balberhall, where I stayed two nights, and accompanied him to the meeting at Chesterfield. After this I was at many meetings in Yorkshire, and other northern counties; and on the 2d of 7th month 1732. went to York; on the 5th I called at Castle Howard, and dined with the Earl of Carlisle and his family, the Lord Cornbury being there likewise. About the conclusion of our dinner, the Earl in a frank manner moved some discourse about

the ceremonies of the national church, and asked me if we would join with them, in case they would lay aside the surplice, and sign of the cross in baptism? I answered, "Lay these things aside, and then we will confer with you about the rest." Then said the Earl, "These things are no way essential to religion, and may well be spared; we have no foundation in scripture for them, and some other things we use."

Then his chaplain (who was present) said, "Things innocent in their own nature may be enjoined by the church and the legislature; and thence arises a duty to obedience." The Earl replied, "That whatever is invented and imposed by man in matters of religion, more than what was ordained by Christ, and taught by him and his apostles, is vicious, and ought not to be regarded." (O noble confession!) Upon this, dismissing his chaplain, I requested liberty for a few words further, since he had been pleased to mention their baptism, and object to an incident of it, as now used by them, I hoped it would not be ill resented, if I endeavoured to inform him how we understand the Christian baptism; and having his countenance therein, I proceeded: "That John the Baptist, being moved by the Word, or Spirit of God, to call the Jews to repentance, and to baptize, or wash in water, such as believed his doctrine, and went to him to that end; he foretold them of another to come after him, much more worthy, and to be preferred, who should baptize them with a more excellent, powerful, and efficacious baptism; that is to say, the *Lord Jesus Christ*, with the Holy Ghost and fire.

"That John did not baptize in any particular name, but directed his disciples to believe in one who was to come after him, who himself did not know when he first began to preach and baptize; and as repentance was, at that time, the necessary doctrine to the Jews, Christ himself preached repentance, and his disciples, they also baptized with water, as John did, and at the same time, but with this difference, that John baptized not

not in any name, but the disciples of Christ most probably in his name, whom they had rightly believed to be the true *Messiah*; and in whose name alone, after he was declared to be sent of God, all the water baptism we ever find in the scripture to be administered, was performed, and never in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

“ That after the resurrection of Christ, and before his ascension, he introduced his baptism, as it was most excellent in itself, so with greater dignity and glory, saying, ‘ *All power in heaven and in earth is given unto me; repentance and remission of sins must be preached in my name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem; and ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, in Judea, in Samaria, in all the regions round about, and to the uttermost parts of the earth: Go ye therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. Go into all the earth, and preach the gospel unto every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believeth not, shall be damned: And lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.*’

“ But notwithstanding this commandment from the mouth of him who hath all power in heaven and earth, he knew that his disciples could not of themselves baptize with this baptism, (though they had by his command, or countenance, baptized with water) without the actual and present power of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in one dispensation: therefore he added this further command, *But tarry ye at Jerusalem till ye have received power from on high.* And lest they should mistake, and think he was instituting another water baptism, he distinguishes his baptism from that of water, saying, *John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.* So that it is evident, according to the testimony of Holy Writ, that this institution was not any water baptism, but distinguished from it, the same which
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John ascribed to Christ, and is the baptism of the spirit only. This we own, and this only, to be the baptism in the church of Christ, initial, by its powerful effects, into the church, which is his body, the ground and pillar of truth, *the fulness of him who filleth all in all.*"

To this no reply being made, after some discourse which passed between the two Lords, I took leave; the Earl went before me to the head of the out-stairs, and, standing there awhile, professed his good liking to friends, as a religious, useful people; and wished his tenants were all of our way. From thence I went to Malton, Scarborough, and divers other places, having meetings to good satisfaction. And on the 1st of 9th month I went again to Balber Hall, to see my worthy friend and old acquaintance Sir John Rhodes, who had embraced the truth early in his youth under great self-denial; in which he had continued, and holds his integrity unto this day, and without doubt will to the end: and then an overbalance unspeakable, to all the honour and pleasure he hath sacrificed in this world for the cross of Christ, he will meet with in that which is to come, never ending or suffering change, but from glory to glory for ever! I staid here in open friendship till the 4th, when I went to Mansfield, and was at their meeting; I was likewise at a meeting here on the 7th, which was large on account of a burial. "The truth was preached to the people in terms suitable to their states; and they were much more sober and attentive than could have been expected from their first appearance, many of them looking wild and airy; which gave me occasion to think, what good do their parents do them? and where is the care of parents to be seen? But he that commandeth the winds, and stilleth the raging waves of the sea, calmeth the most turbulent spirits by his invisible word, working effects visible and surprizing!" The meeting ended in peace, and in all appearance to general satisfaction.

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On the 8th I went to Nottingham, and was at their meeting next day; which was open and comfortable. I took my way after this through Leicestershire and Northamptonshire towards London, where I came on the 7th of 10th month, and was kindly received by my friends.

At this time Deism was much advanced in the city and nation, yet our meetings were crowded on first days: and though the generality of friends in the city were young people, they delighted to hear the principles and doctrines of truth published. I was frequently concerned "to distinguish between a natural and spiritual state. In the former, man has the use of his reason and understanding in natural things, receiving his ideas thereof from without by his senses, and making a judgment according to the degree of the ability of his natural faculties, deducing consequences from premises by reasoning: by which he may conclude the existence of the Almighty, from the works of the creation, but cannot form any proper idea of the enjoyment of God in this state. But in the latter or spiritual state, whereinto man is brought by the word or spirit of God, operating in his mind, he is capacitated to enjoy God, as he is essential love, wisdom, truth, power, &c."

One day, during my stay in the city, I, with some other friends, fell in company with a Deist; and something being moved relating to his principles, he was furnished with divers subtle arguments in opposition to the Christian religion; which yet had no weight with us. One present, to bring him in some respect under the authority of the Holy Scriptures, asked him, if he did believe what was written therein? He answered, that he did believe many things therein, but not all; and soon after he urged the apostle's doctrine in his epistle to the Romans, in defence of their position, "That the reason of man is his only guide in the way to please God; and the only principle by which

which man can apprehend there is a God; for saith the scripture, * *That which may be known of God is manifest in them, (i. e. men) for God hath shewed it unto them: for the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse.*"

I replied, "That man, taking in the idea of the outward creation by his senses, and reasoning from the effect to the cause, may conclude, and cannot avoid it, that there is an almighty, all-wise agent, who has produced and supports all things; and that he hath all the divine and moral attributes commonly ascribed; from which reasonable contemplation a great satisfaction may arise: and yet all this is, in comparison, but a history or report of God, though for ever true; and gives not the enjoyment of his presense sensibly, as he is divine essential truth, love, wisdom, light, and power. As which, he cannot be known but by his own light, flowing from himself through that pure mirror, the reasonable mind of Christ, of his own preparing; by whom, as through a vail, man sees the inaccessible glory of the Father, who dwelleth in the light, which no man hath seen, nor can see by any other medium; and not by that, till due qualifications be wrought in the mind of man by this light.

"That the Divine Light of Truth or Spirit of Christ, is another thing than human reason, and is added to the rational man, after he is already rational; and is not constituent of his being, as his reason is."

Having visited all the meetings in London, and being easy for the present concerning them, I set forward for the north on the 2d of 12th month, going by way of Hartford, Hitchin, Coventry, Birmingham, Manchester, &c. taking meetings at these and other places to good satisfaction. On the 1st of 1st month,

* Rom. i. 19, 20.

1733, I came to Kendal, and was at their monthly meeting the day after, which was large and open, and the business thereof managed in the peaceable wisdom of truth, so that it was a comfortable time, through the Lord's goodness. I staid till the first day of the next week, when the morning meeting was large, consisting for the most part of friends; the necessary truths of the gospel opened clearly, and with tendering authority: persuading the youth not to rest in the outside of things only, in a formal exercise of things left by example of those who are gone before, but to wait for the same word of wisdom and power in themselves, as their conductor in the same good practices in their day. Several of them were tendered and broken; the Lord favouring us with his presence. At the afternoon meeting a multitude attended, and several of the magistrates, who were generally sedate and attentive; many things of the kingdom of God were opened among them with good authority; especially concerning regeneration, the difference between a natural and spiritual mind and state, and the necessity of a real and sensible change. I had thanks from one of the justices for my good instruction, as he was pleased to call it, which, though it is a thing of course among themselves, was much better than being sent into a prison for it, as often happened to those who made way in times past, by their sufferings, for the liberty we enjoy; and whose memory ought to be retained with great respect; though some at this day, under the same profession, despise and trample upon the most essential part of their testimony, as also most of the incidents, and exterior marks of distinction between us and the world: for such incidents there are, besides a holy life, and moral decorum among men.

I passed the evening in agreeable conversation with some friends, and went the next day to Penrith, and the day after to my usual lodgings at Carlisle. Having settled some concerns in the country, I went to the yearly

yearly meeting at Kendal, which was very large, consisting for the most part of young people; as does our society throughout the world at this day. We were favoured with the Divine Presence in some degree, but not so as I have experienced on these occasions: for the state of the people could not bear it; "the generality of them being as the Samaritans of old, who had believed that *Jesus Christ* was the Messiah that had been to come; and so far they were right; but the Holy Spirit of Christ was not come upon them for some time after they had so believed. So likewise these our younger sort of friends, having believed the same concerning the coming of Christ in that administration, as also the general doctrines (published among us at this day) of his light, grace, or Holy Spirit, yet the operation of it has not been witnessed, by many of them, as a sensible and experimental dispensation of life and power, which is properly the gospel."

The meetings held three days, and concluded well, to the sole praise of the Holy One, who never fails to do good to his people. After this I was at Sedberg, Bishop-Aukland, Durham, and Newcastle, from thence went to Carlisle, and on the 4th of 3d month set forward for the yearly meeting at London, where, with hard travel, I came on the 10th.

In this meeting the testimony of truth was further established against the payment of tithes, which had been weakened by the unfaithfulness of several in profession with us, who, for the time, might have known better, and arrived at greater perfection. Some members of the meeting offering apologies for delinquencies of this nature; "I put the meeting in mind, that at a time of great distraction about matters of religion in this nation, the Lord, in infinite mercy, stretched forth the arm of his power, by which he gathered to himself a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, who, through the virtue and power of his grace, bore a threefold testimony in the world.

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“ First, To the manifestation of the Holy Spirit of Christ, as the only infallible and all-sufficient teacher of mankind, in the things of God and eternal life.

“ Secondly, To a holy, innocent, righteous life, as the necessary consequences of such teaching.

“ Thirdly, Against an antichristian ministry, set up, and subsisting in the world, by tithes, and other oppressive means; never appointed by God for a Christian ministry, but invented and obtruded upon the world by an antichristian power, usurping authority in the name of the Lord Jesus (whose kingdom is not of this world) over all the kings and princes, and moral establishments where Christ was named and owned. In which our primitives were true and faithful; so that these three points were settled and held as essential, and indispensable to the dispensation of the Almighty committed unto his people in this and all future ages: and none really accounted under that dispensation, who came not up in the practice of them. I therefore conclude it is the same still, and ever will be. And that former yearly meetings, whose minutes are now inspected and referred to, (especially relating to the payment of tithes) did but their duty in distinguishing such as fall short in this common testimony; so far at least, as to prohibit such from any share in the exercise of judgment, or the application of the order and discipline of the church, where themselves are subjects of censure therein. As it is written, *The brother that is weak in the faith, receive, but not to doubtful disputations.*”

It was concluded to have former minutes transcribed against the payment of tithes, and a written epistle prepared, recommending faithfulness therein, to be sent to the quarterly and monthly meetings, in which the meeting seemed generally unanimous.

After staying some weeks in London, visiting the meetings, I went to Hartford, Hitchin, Baldock, and Ware, and from thence to Kingston and Guildford, and into Hampshire and Dorsetshire, and on the 21st

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of 6th month was at Bristol, at their week-day meeting. I went after this by Monmouth and Ross to Keyngton, where the yearly meeting for seven western counties was held this year, viz. Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, which I attended; it was an edifying, informing, and comfortable meeting, the people, who were very numerous, being generally sober, and well satisfied.

After this meeting I went to Leominster, Amily, Bromyard, Worcester, and other places, till I came to Nailsworth, where I was at their meeting on the first day of the week, it was large in the afternoon, but laborious; for many of the people in those parts and elsewhere, having been often at our meetings, (where the truths of the gospel have been clearly and powerfully declared) and secretly convinced, yet, stumbling at the cross, have not obeyed to an open confession of the truth, therefore do not grow or come forward in it, but are as seed buried under the clods of the earth, and in danger of being lost. Christ was preached to them this day, with respect to his inward as well as outward manifestation, and especially the former; and they were warned of the danger of neglecting the day of the offers of salvation, and strivings of the Spirit of God in them; since the language of Wisdom to a rebellious, gainsaying, negligent people, is on this wise, * *I called, saith the Lord, and ye would not hear; ye shall cry, and I will not answer; I will laugh at your calamities, and mock when your fear comes. And, † To-day if you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.*

I staid here till the 13th, and was at their week-day meeting, which was small, no notice being given of my remaining there, as I was willing to see their manner in the absence of strangers. On the 14th I went to Marshfield, to the widow Wickham's, a good old

* Prov. i.

† Ps. xciv. 7, 8.

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matron, and entertainer of friends for many years; I had a meeting there, to which came some of the sober neighbours, and we were favoured with a good open time; after this I was at Bath, Bristol, and other meetings in these parts. And on the 21st of 8th month had an evening meeting at Henly, which was very large, many of the Presbyterians, and others of the neighbourhood being there, and generally very sober; many truths of the gospel were proclaimed in their ears, and some hearts touched with the virtue of it: but the cross is still a stumbling block to some who profess the Christian name; mankind desiring heaven, when the report thereof seems beautiful, but would part with nothing for it; they would still be heirs of two kingdoms; which, in this sense, can never be. I proceeded from hence for London, where having staid some time, and thoroughly visited the meetings, I left it on the 23d of 1st month, 1733-4, going northward, by way of Coventry, Stockport, Manchester, and so to Carlisle.

“ At the first mentioned place the assizes had lately been held, when several malefactors were capitally convicted; and, among others, an episcopal priest, for stealing a mare, to whom, and to all in the court, the judge gave good advice; more especially to this poor condemned criminal; to whom he said, that the sin was great in itself, but much more aggravated and magnified in him, who, pretending to be a minister of Christ, ought to have been a good example, and leader of others in the way of righteousness and truth; but falling so greatly short himself of moral honesty, he was become a reproach to his profession, and a stumbling block to the weak, to whom he ought to have been a support. And it was particularly remarked, that the judge told the criminal, *If he had taken due heed to the divine principle of grace and truth in his own mind, he would not have fallen into that sin, which was now bringing him to so ignominious an end.*” This discourse

course had good effect on him and the other criminals, and also on the auditory. Some said, the judge had preached a good Quaker's sermon.

On the 1st of 2d month I went to Stockport, where I had a comfortable time in visiting the families of friends. On the 7th I was at Manchester, being first day of the week; the meetings were to general satisfaction, so far as I could observe; some essential parts of the Christian faith, practice, hope, love, and sufferings were laid open and made plain in the light and power of the Son of God, and many hearts tendered thereby. I went from hence to Lancaster, to a meeting of ministers and elders, which was well furnished with the same, from divers counties and places, and we were favoured with the good presence and counsel of the Lord. The day after two meetings for worship were held, both very large, consisting generally of friends: the people in this part resting satisfied in their own dead forms, though a few of them, who came in, behaved soberly, and the Lord gave us a good meeting, through the revelation of the Father by the Son, who never fails nor forsakes his own, whom in this age, as in times past, he hath called and filled by his word, to bear the ensign of his great name before the nations.

After this I was at other meetings in these parts, and in the 3d month went to London, in order to attend the yearly meeting, to which I was appointed a representative: we had a peaceable time, through the wisdom and goodness of the Lord, though Satan was not wanting in his attempts to make division and mischief. I staid in the city, and near it, visiting the meetings, till the 14th of 6th month, and then, accompanied by my sure and agreeable friend, John Fallowfield, set forward on a journey into the west. We were at many meetings to good satisfaction, and in our way had a meeting at Pool, which was very large, with people not of our society. The Lord furnished

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us with understanding and ability, and the doctrine and virtue of the gospel reached many that day. We were much drawn out to the people, in the labour of love and good will, and much exhausted in the service, yet our reward was sure in the Lord, and our satisfaction great in his presence.

On the 1st, 2d, and 3d of 7th month was held the circular yearly meeting for the west at Exeter. Many of the inhabitants of the city and neighbouring places came in, behaving very soberly: the truths of the gospel were declared to them with authority and demonstration by several of the ministry; and the meeting was peaceable and comfortable, and to good satisfaction. Indeed the people throughout this nation are generally willing to give us a fair and peaceable hearing, with good acceptance, as to the truth of our doctrine; but the cross of Christ is yet too heavy for them, as they weakly think, and finding ease and a false rest in death, under their teachers, who sooth them in their sins, they rest short of the kingdom.

We staid a few days longer at Exeter, and were at several meetings to good satisfaction. On the 9th we had a meeting in the town-hall at Totness, which was large, mostly of the reputable sort, a very full and comfortable time the Lord gave us among them, exalting the testimony of his living truth over all; and we witnessed peace, as a full recompence for the labour given us to perform by the word of the Lord. After this we had meetings at Plymouth, Foy, Austel, Falmouth, &c. to the Land's End: here the meeting was large, considering the smallness of the house. The people, in general, are of low capacity, but matter suitable to their condition opened freely. New wine is not put into old bottles; most of them had not believed in the truth, therefore not sanctified through faith in him; so that the efflux of the living water, was not so plentiful, nor the wine of the kingdom so strongly mixed therewith as at some other places, yet sufficient of

both to give a clear evidence, and we had a comfortable season by the Lord's good presence, and his arm was magnified. On the 6th of 8th month we were at the meeting at Dennis, among an innocent people, many of them (about forty) lately convinced, being very tender, as little children desiring the pure milk of the word, which the Lord dispensed largely and freely among them, to our mutual satisfaction. They were greatly tendered, as we had been when we were first convinced, which gave me a grateful remembrance of those days and times of espousals, and hopes that the renewing of such times in a more general way is not far off. Such being now, in divers parts of the world, as a few first ripe ears proclaiming the approaching harvest: as it is written, * *Seed time and harvest, summer and winter, day and night shall not cease.* The dispensations of the Almighty unto mankind, though various, shall not cease from henceforward for ever.

When we were at the yearly meeting at Exeter, some proposals had been made of having a meeting at Tiverton, in our return from Cornwall, to which we were inclined, and, after being at several meetings in our way, (as Port Isaac, Leskard, &c.) we came there, and held a meeting on the 21st, which was large, consisting of people of all ranks; the mayor and other magistrates being present, they appointed the constables to keep the baser sort in awe, if any should occasion a disturbance. The Lord, who always countenanceth his own appointments in providence, gave us strength and understanding sufficient for the work of this day, wherein we had no small labour, yet a good and comfortable time; and all ended to the honour of God, and promotion of his truth among the people, who were generally satisfied with what they heard, being many of the most needful truths of the gospel; and Christ was truly preached by his own

* Gen. viii. 22.

immediate power, in the use of instruments. After the meeting we made our acknowledgments to the magistrates for their kind assistance; and in the afternoon I went with a friend to visit one of the most noted persons in town, a Presbyterian by profession, who had been at the meeting, and very attentive. He had been well satisfied with what he had heard, except some things I had said upon the subject of baptism: I endeavoured to shew him, "that the baptism, mentioned by the evangelist, Matthew, is not water baptism, and that the few uncertain instances of the practice of water baptism by some of the apostles, after the effusion of the Holy Ghost, was not from that text, but upon the same foot upon which they practised it in John's time, and was no other than his baptism with water; but Christ's baptism, mentioned in this text, and others, relating to the same time and subject, is of a more excellent nature and efficacy, being by the spirit of Christ, the word of God, the great baptizer of the soul in the laver of regeneration; which all natural men (being one of the great things of God) are ignorant of, nor can they at all understand it, till they believe in the Spirit himself, the Condemner of the world; of whom it is written, * *As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten.* † *Turn you at my reproof; behold I will pour out my Spirit upon you; I will make known my words unto you.* I further said, that I had often observed the great ascendancy education and custom have over mankind in outward things, in which alone the religion of the natural man consists; and how far remote they sometimes were from the things contended for, as in the present case, where he was pleading for water baptism, and was not in the practice of any: for sprinkling an infant in the face with water is no baptism, nor practised by the apostles of Christ; but set up in the dark night of apostasy by antichristian

* Rev. iii 19.

† Prov. i. 23.

priests of the see of Rome. And as they had no water baptism (which could be so called) but sprinkling, they could not, nor did they deliver any baptism to such as dissented and separated from them, at the time and times usually called the reformation: so that none of you are under any ordinance of Christ on that account, but only of a vain tradition of ignorant and presumptuous men, an old Popish relict, which cannot be defended with any propriety. And, we know it is sufficient reason for us to decline all water baptism, in that we can say with the great apostle of the Gentiles, *Christ has not sent us to baptize, but to preach the gospel*, according to the measure of the dispensation thereof, in this age, committed unto us; which differs nothing from the same, but in the degrees of wisdom and power, being unalterable in the nature and reason of the thing."

This he did not seem very well to relish, but made no further defence of a thing so plainly wrong, and we parted in friendship. My companion and I proceeded for Bristol, where, after staying about two weeks, he left me, intending for London, upon the death of that able minister of the gospel, and pillar in the house of God, Francis Davis. On the 16th of 9th month, I likewise departed from Bristol, taking meetings at Bath, Calne, Marlborough, and other places in my way to London. The meeting at Jordans was pretty large; the Lord was near in a time of long silence, and I had good matters before me, but unable to speak by means of a cold; yet at length broke through, so as to express the heads of some matters before me, relating to the ancient prophecy of the Lord: * *That it should come to pass, that seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel; only, let us be called by thy name to take away our reproach.*

* Isa. iv. 1.

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“ Which is fulfilled in many, if not the greatest part of the professors of Christ throughout the world, who feed themselves with their own inventions of various forms, of what they call their religion, and cloath themselves with their own righteousness, neglecting the righteousness of God, even *the Lord our righteousness*. Many, likewise, feeding the body to excess, and luxury, cloath^{ed} it with needless and airy, fantastical garments, things not becoming the cross of Christ. But the people of God are preserved clear from these things, by waiting upon him day and night in his temple, (the second house more glorious than the former) *for the consolation of Israel, the light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of his true Israel.*”

I staid in London, visiting the meetings, till the 29th of 1st month, 1735, and then went to Albana, where I was at their meetings on a first day, in which the Lord favoured us with his good presence. From hence I went to Hemsted, Aylsbury, and some other places, and was at the yearly meeting for four counties, viz. Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, held at Westchester. The meetings were very large, with people of all ranks, and the Lord was pleased to favour us with his good presence, and to exalt his own glorious name over all ! the great multitude, during the service, being mostly as still as a meeting of friends. Here was a young woman in the ministry, who had been convinced about four years before, she being at a meeting with some of her acquaintance, they thought what I had to say was a contrived sermon, which might be kept written in my pocket ; whereas I never prepared any thing to say in any meeting in all my life hitherto, but have ever depended upon the heart-preparing power and word of the Lord, and immediate work and openings of it in my own mind. From this time the young woman became nearer to friends, and attended our meetings,
till

till she found strength to own the truth in a publick manner.

On the 22d of 2d month I left Chester, and that day had a small meeting at Wrexham; from thence I went to Shrewsbury, Colebrookdale, and Bewdly, and on the 29th was at the meeting at Worcester, where the Lord favoured us with his good presence, the scriptures of the Old and New Testament being opened to us with brightness and authority, to general satisfaction, for which we were thankful unto him who hath all wisdom and power, and without whom we can do nothing: yet this meeting was so hard to me for some time in silence, and the people so heavy, that it put me in mind of a saying of the apostle: * *What shall they do who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?* But so soon as a little help appeared from the Lord, all weakness, and the power of death, vanished as darkness before the day, and in him I arose and prevailed; and so let it be with all his ministers in all places, from henceforth through all generations! Amen.

* Next day I went to Evesham, and on the 2d of 3d month had an appointed meeting at Chipping Norton, which was very open, the goodness of the Lord accompanying us therein, and the light of his countenance making manifest things of the greatest importance. From hence I went to Oxford, (where now remain only four or five friends) and was at the meetings on first day. In the morning, sitting together in the usual meeting-house, the Lord renewed to us the happy experience of the fulfilling his promise, whilst in silence, *That where two or three are gathered together in his name, there he is in the midst of them.* But after some time a company of students came in, most of them full of levity, with vice and folly sitting on their

* 1 Cor. xv. 29.

brows;

brows; they scoffed at the great truths of the gospel, especially when some proper texts of holy scripture were mentioned concerning the divine light and word of God, as if they meant to repel the force of truth by a flood of laughter. I had patience under all their foolish opposition, and ill manners; and labouring in the virtue of truth, so overcame them, that they were generally quiet before I had done, and some of them sensibly touched with the invisible power of truth; in the main it was a good meeting, and ended well. I never had any thing but good will to these misguided young creatures; whose capacities might, under a proper direction and conduct, be improved to great service in the world, but being depraved by vicious practices, all the good proposed by their education is frustrated.

In the afternoon we sat so long silent, that we tired one set of them, who came first; but another sort coming, after the first were gone, I had many things to say to them "concerning their learning, manners, catechism, vows and promises, creeds, and likewise of the martyrs from whom they pretended to derive their religion; then I preached to them on the grace of God, and shewed, that if they were members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven, by what had been done for them in their infancy, when altogether ignorant of good or evil, they were now in the state of fallen angels, by their own confession: for they have left undone those things which they ought to have done, and done those things which they ought not to have done, and are become miserable sinners, * *full of wounds, bruises, and putrifying sores, from the sole of the foot even unto the head.* And certainly none in this state can enter the kingdom of God. I said, I had heard that the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, are called the two eyes of the nation; it is therefore no wonder the inhabit-

* Isaiah i. 6.

ants, depending on them, are so ignorant. Some of them were not easy under this; yet truth being over them, they were kept down, so as not to oppose, otherwise than by laughter, more forced than natural; at which times I usually reproving them, went on with what I had to say till finished; and being helped to clear myself, I came away with satisfaction."

On the 6th I was at a meeting at North End; and on the two following days at Henley and Amersham. On the 9th I was at Chesham, where, in the evening, after the meeting, I had conversation with a considerable man in the world, inclinable to the French prophets; by whom I perceived they expect such a dispensation from God, as that all the gifts of the primitive times should be restored, viz. working miracles, prophecy, healing the sick, raising the dead, &c. whereby their minds being carried off the present dispensation, they neglect that which should be regarded, (in looking for greater things before they are come to the lesser) as did the Jews; who looking for the coming of the Messiah in another manner than he was promised, (that is, with outward and worldly power and splendor) despised him when he did come, and so missed of salvation by him. I declared many things to him, and the friends present, as at that time they were opened to me of the Lord; and we parted in friendship. I went from hence by Jordans and Uxbridge to London, and in the latter end of the sixth month, to the yearly meeting for seven counties, held at Rugby, which was large: many of those called gentry, as well as people in lower stations, and likewise several national priests, being there, the Lord honoured his name in the midst of them, from meeting to meeting, to him be the praise, who is alone worthy, now and for ever!

The meeting held three days, during which time the truths of the gospel in the authority and demonstration of it, were set forth by our ministry beyond contradiction;

contradiction; the people behaving with much sobriety and serious attention. I hope the understandings of many of them were opened, so as, in some degree, to perceive we had been formerly misrepresented; and our principles hid, but now opened and cleared. At the conclusion of the last meeting, we gave away among the people, for their information and help, near a thousand books, all which were kindly received: and, as love and unity abounded among friends, so we left the town and people in mutual love and good will between them and us, to the praise of the living Lord, who worketh in us the good will, and the deed, to his own glory!

In the 7th month I was at several meetings in Oxfordshire, as Banbury and Charlbury, and from thence proceeded till I came to Bristol, where I remained some time, attending the meeting with peace and satisfaction to myself and friends. One first day I had to expose the pernicious doctrine of transubstantiation; "wherein the Papists say, that upon uttering the words of consecration by the priest, the bread or wafer, so consecrated, is immediately changed into the very body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered on the cross at Jerusalem; that this wafer being now the true God and Christ, is to be worshipped as such. Thus the people are deceived, and led blindfold into idolatry, instead of worshipping Almighty God, through Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and true Saviour, sent into the world in the flesh, crucified, dead, and buried, ascended into heaven, and come from the Father a second time, as he is the spirit of truth, who leadeth into all truth, completing the salvation of all who believe in him, and follow and obey him."

In another meeting, where several hireling teachers of different notions were present, and many other people, it became my concern to stand up with these

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words

words of the apostle, * *The time will come, when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears. And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and be turned unto fables.*"

I proceeded to observe, "That this prophecy is fulfilled in this and other nations at this day; all the several sects adapting to themselves certain and various notions, principles, and systems of religion, make choice of such teachers, as will teach and propagate these notions, and no other; at the same time rejecting and despising the free, perfect, and effectual teachings of the grace of God (which hath been publicly and freely preached in this and some other countries, now near a century, and is to this day) contrary to the kind and merciful invitation of the Almighty, where he saith by his prophet, † *Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat: yea, come buy wine and milk without money, and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? Hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear, and come unto me; hear, and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David. Behold, I have given him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people.* It is to him, the Lord Jesus' Christ alone, that we have ever directed mankind, that they may be taught by his grace and Holy Spirit in their own hearts, and redeemed from all the hireling teachers in the world, of every notion and form: and this we have done freely, without any mercenary, low views to ourselves, but in that love to the souls of all men, in which the Son of God laid

* 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.

† Isa. lv. 1, 2, 3, 4.

down his life for all mankind, tasting death for every man."

On the 4th of 9th month I left Bristol, and, taking meetings in my way, came to London on the 23d. Here I remained several months, visiting the meetings, and assisting, as far as I could, in the solicitations to parliament for further ease concerning tithes. It fell to my lot, with some other friends, at the request of the meeting for sufferings, to speak with the Bishops of Salisbury and Chichester, and five other bishops on the subject; they generally gave up all pretensions to divine right of tithes, and insisted on the laws of the land only. After leaving London, I went northward; and on the 25th of 6th month 1736, was at Leeds, "where the meeting is considerably large, and consists, for the greatest part, of young people; sober, but few of them have experienced the Lord's sanctifying baptism: which is much the state of our young people at this day throughout the world; being in danger (as it has happened to others) of sitting down under the profession of truth, in a traditional way, as to the doctrine and form of the discipline of it, and yet ignorant of the life, light, virtue, and power of truth, essentially in themselves; by which an apostacy from the very form may enter, and proceed gradually, till the whole be lost as to them, and some other thing take place, under the same name: which the Lord prevent, by his kind and merciful visitation, in his own time and way; for nothing else can do it, or carry on that great and glorious work, which his own arm hath begun in the earth, in and by his people."

I staid in these parts visiting meetings till the 17th of 9th month, when I went for London, and continued there till the 4th month 1738; then I returned again into the north, visiting the meetings in many places to mutual comfort. In my way to York, being accompanied by several friends, we came to Tadcaster, where falling in with other friends from Leeds, and

and places adjacent, we all dined together at an inn; and before we arose from the table, the divine truth tendered me very much, and reached the friends in general, surprizing us together with a merciful visitation of his kindness, as in our early times, and we were at this time as little children before him, satiated with the breast of living consolation in his presence, not to be forgotten, but sealed on every heart, to the praise of the God of mercy, and of our salvation. We were reduced to silence!

The quarterly meeting at York was very large, especially in times of worship, when many of other societies came in, and generally behaved well. The Lord was with us, and things, both as to worship and discipline, were conducted in the meekness of his wisdom, to his own glory, and the consolation of his people, without schism, or jar. On the 4th of the 5th month, I went to a meeting appointed at Humby, from thence to Thornton, Malton, and Pickering. In this meeting there was something hard to be wrought through, from a spirit of heaviness and carelessness, yet the power of the Lord was manifested, and the brightness of his presence prevailed over death and darkness, and the righteous rejoiced before him, in a sense of his never-failing goodness! After this I was at Scarborough attending the meetings, which were at times large and comfortable, one meeting in particular was very open, friends being generally tendered by the influence of divine love, the sweetness whereof seasoned our conversation afterwards. In another meeting, in which strangers were present, the spring of the gospel increased, so that several important truths thereof opened in the demonstration of wisdom and power, to the satisfaction of many, and glory of the Creator and Upholder of all things. Great is the truth, and it shall prevail. I continued some time in these parts, and was again at the quarterly meeting at York, the business whereof was conducted in the peaceable

peaceable wisdom of the Son of God : many great and important truths were delivered in the meetings by several brethren in the demonstration and authority of the Holy Spirit. " Here a person took down some of my testimonies in short-hand, as he had done at some other times, which is seldom truly done ; for though the form of speech may be, by this means, and help of the memory of the writer nearly recovered, yet the missing, or altering of a word in some sentences, may greatly alter and wrong the sense ; and it is certain, that no letters, words, or speech, can represent the divine virtue, power and energy, in which the doctrines of the truth are delivered by those who are sent of God : for they speak with wisdom and authority in and from him, and not as the hirelings of this world, whose speeches are often artful and deceivable ; whereby they ensnare the people, rule over them, and make a trade or gain of them to themselves, and live in the pomp and grandeur of the world, though they promise and vow to renounce them, and make the people do so likewise. Yet they break those promises not only once, but repeatedly to the end of their days, if their daily confessions be true.

" Nevertheless, where testimonies are truly set down in writing, so far as they are sound, with respect to faith in God and Christ the Lord, or any other point of doctrine, they may be of use to help forward the work of the Lord, in the redemption and salvation of mankind."

The meeting ended in peace, and divers departed the city the same evening with satisfaction and comfort : yet as pillars in the house of God, it is hoped they will depart no more therefrom, but remain for ever ! but I having no certain dwelling place on earth, (though there is something therein I call mine, which I have power over while in this body) and not in haste to leave the city, I staid to attend the service of the Lord in the next first day meetings, in which we were

favoured with the divine presence, and many important truths were delivered.

On the 5th of the 8th month I was at the monthly meeting at Warnsworth, where a case happened which admitted of some different ways of thinking; yet friends condescending one to another, and the testimony of truth going forth against all partiality of judgment, and all sides and parties on any account whatever, (there being no side or party, save truth and error only) things were carried on and finished in the peaceable wisdom of truth to satisfaction and comfort.

From hence I went to Woodhouse, and Sheffield, and made a visit to my long acquainted friend, Sir John Rhodes, a man of truth and understanding; who neglecting all the honour of the world, had lived but too reclusely, by which the brightness of his talents have not been made so conspicuous as otherwise they might. On the 16th I went to Nottingham, and after that took meetings in my way to London, where I came on the 29th, the Lord's power and goodness having eminently attended to the comfort and edification of many where my lot was cast. I staid in London till the 17th of the 4th month, 1739, and then went to the quarterly meeting at York, which was large and comfortable. After this I was at a yearly meeting for worship at Bingley, in which the truths of the gospel were largely opened to the people, and no publick minister there besides myself; I was much spent as to my natural strength, and now of great age. But the Lord being pleased to renew the strength of my mind through his goodness, I was soon recovered. On the 5th of the 5th month, I went to the quarterly meeting at Kendal, which was conducted in the peaceable wisdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; through whom, to the father of all our mercies, be dominion and glory, now and for ever!

After having attended some other meetings in these parts, and finished what was incumbent on me in the country

country at this time, I set forward for London on the 15th of 6th month, in company with John Wilson of Kendal, a true friend of mine in the truth, and of great service in and to the society of friends in general, both in the country, and in the yearly meetings at London.

I came to London on the 28th of the 7th month, where I remained, attending the meetings till the 26th of the 2d month, 1740, and then returned into the north. Soon after my arrival at Carlisle, the monthly meeting came on, where truth prevailed in the power and virtue of it, to the stirring up of the idle and careless among us, and just reproof of such who busy themselves in other men's matters, neglecting what is properly their own; contrivers of false accusations, and evils against others. Upon which I had to speak something after this manner.

“As to the fruits and consequences of evil surmising, and the pernicious effects of it to Christian consolation, society, and love: this being an evil work, and child of the darkness of this world, it is conceived in darkness, in darkness it is brought forth, and in darkness it wandereth about from house to house, place to place, till many are corrupted thereby, so as to entertain evil thoughts, and form false sentiments of others, of whom they never saw or heard evil in all the time of their acquaintance, and frequent conversation with them: it may be easily conceived, that if any entertain thoughts of another, as if guilty of any particular evil, such cannot have real unity with one, whom he so apprehends to be guilty. For though false, it hath the same consequences, in that respect, as if true; and the evil-surmiser, by this means, becoming shy, and averse to the person censured, it hath the same effect on him likewise; so that there is no unity in the ground between them, nor truth or sincerity, but they become hypocrites one to another. And this secret evil hath done more hurt to Christian society in general, and to us as a people in a particular

lar manner, than the open sins which some have fallen into : for open evil is seen of all, and judged and condemned of all persons, of every denomination ; therefore the failings of particulars are no ways justly imputable to generals ; but secret evils reign and rage in the dark, as if with toleration ; and yet such is the common consent, and joint sentiment of mankind, that to be convicted of a lie, or called a liar, false accuser, or calumniator, is highly offensive to all."

Thus friends were exhorted to beware of these great evils, and to do, or say, nothing inconsistent with true Christian love (which is the law of divine and endless life in all the faithful and obedient) and in their conversation and dealings one with another, and with all men, to take the counsel of the apostle, *Let love be without dissimulation ; love not in word, nor in tongue only, but in deed and in truth.*

I was at some other meetings in these parts, as Scotby, the Moorhouse, the Border, and Wigton ; in all which the truth triumphed gloriously, especially in the last mentioned meeting, to which many strangers of the town came, whom friends had invited. I was likewise in the country occasionally ; for as the estate, which had been my father's inheritance, was providentially fallen into my hands, and the small buildings much decayed, I thought it not equal to receive rents for the premises without proper habitations for the tenants, and therefore was willing to repair them, and erect others where necessary : in order to make preparation for such a work, I staid till the 15th of the 6th month, when I went to Kendal, and was at their meetings on the first day of the week : the meeting in the forenoon was very open and comfortable, the Lord blessing us with a good degree of his presence ; but, that we might sensibly experience, that in the Lord alone are all our fresh springs, as from an ocean of all fulness ; and that we must not depend on what has been, but on that which is present, in humble submission

mission to his will and time: the meeting was heavy and lifeless a long time in the afternoon, yet the Lord shewed mercy towards the end, and that wholesome exhortation of the apostle was brought to my remembrance, in some degree of the same life in which it was wrote. * *"I beseech you brethren, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service."* The body being of the earth, is of itself dead, and unactive; but as it is in vital union with the mind, (which is of a different nature) it is moved thereby, in things within its reach, and yet can act nothing acceptable unto God, but as quickened and strengthened by the influence of the Holy Spirit of Christ, the mediator in all acts of worship; and therefore we must wait for him at all times, in passive silence of mind, to be rightly fitted under an exercise of faith and hope towards God; and the Lord appeareth in his own time, when the creature seeth its want, and that there is no help but in the Lord alone; then he ariseth as the brightness of the morning, and thereby disperseth the fogs of the night. And since the last enemy that is to be destroyed is death; how is it likely that enemy should be overcome by such, who, in times of worship are overcome, from time to time, by his image? I speak as unto wise men, judge ye what I say, and be sincere, and vigilant, that the Lord may bless you in all your meetings with his living presence, and preserve you all alive unto himself, to his glory!" On the 18th I went forward to Settle, and after took some meetings in my way to London, where I came on the 1st of the 7th month.

P. S. The author's account breaks off here, which seems an abrupt period; and as the editors have not been able to discover any further prosecution of the work among his papers, they apprehend it may not be
amiss.

* Rom. xiii. 1.

amiss to add, "that he continued in London some part of the ensuing winter, where he was seized with a paralytick disorder, which affected him to such a degree, as deprived him very much of his speech, and confined him within doors till the return of the spring, when he regained a little strength, and got out to meetings; but was not so far recovered, as to be able to hold a discourse long, his memory being also greatly impaired by the disorder: nevertheless he continued sweet in spirit, and chearful among his friends, whom he was always glad to see, and be in company with: he likewise diligently attended the yearly meeting at London, 1741, though he spoke not much in it. Before the end of the summer he was so much better, as that he travelled down to Carlisle, to look after his affairs in the north, which required his attendance; for having a design to build a house at Justice Town, he provided materials, and frequently overlooked the workmen: indeed his health and faculties were so well restored, as that he many times appeared in publick in the meetings, greatly to the satisfaction of friends. Thus he continued without much alteration till the 23d of the 4th month, 1742, when, in the evening he suffered a new attack of his disorder, which seized him with great violence, and the next morning between two and three o'clock, he departed this life, in perfect peace, (there is great reason to believe) with God and mandkind: two days after his corpse was interred in the burial ground at Carlisle, being attended by a great number of friends from several parts of the country, and also by divers people in the neighbourhood, who seemed deeply affected with the loss of a man, so valuable and useful to his country, in several stations of life."

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LATELY PUBLISHED

BY

JOSEPH CRUKSHANK,

THE

LIFE OF LADY GUION,

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

EXHIBITING Her Eminent Piety, Charity, Meekness, Resignation, Fortitude and Stability; her Labours, Travels, Sufferings and Services for the Conversion of Souls to God; and her great Success, in some Places, in that best of all Employments on the Earth.

The reader will view, in the course of this translation, the progress of a holy pilgrim, not fictitious but real; a life of no common sort: from its birth upwards attended with remarkable events, assaulted with troubles and inured to oppositions; a soul filled with the love of God; from him deriving, and instrumentally diffusing a happiness undefiled, incorruptible, unhurt by storms, and growing firmer in persecutions; ensuring on high its everlasting duration, in a state of boundless perfection and purity.

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